

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 321 953

RC 017 681

AUTHOR Reyhner, Jon; Eder, Jeanne
TITLE A History of Indian Education.
SPONS AGENCY Eastern Montana Coll., Billings.
PUB DATE 89
NOTE 165p.
AVAILABLE FROM Bilingual Education Program, Eastern Montana College,
c/o Jon Reyhner, 1500 N. 30th Street, Billings, MT
59101 (\$6.00 per copy, \$4.50 quantity price).
PUB TYPE Books (010) -- Historical Materials (060)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; American Indian Culture; *American
Indian Education; *American Indian History;
*Educational History; *Federal Indian Relationship;
Indigenous Populations

ABSTRACT

The goal of assimilating American Indians into an alien culture seemed inevitable as superior weaponry and foreign diseases conquered the Indians. Only in the 20th century has serious consideration been given to allowing Indians to choose their own destiny. Using many excerpts from historical accounts, this book describes educational efforts by the dominant white culture to remake the native inhabitants into pseudo-Europeans and both resistance and cooperation that the Indians exhibited in reaction. In the late 19th century reformers felt that the way to get Indians to progress quickly was to detribalize and individualize them. Education in white ways was seen as a method to destroy tribal life, rid the government of its trust and treaty responsibilities, and compensate Indians for land taken from them. However, attempts at quick assimilation have often led to failure. Rapid erosion of traditional culture produced cultural disintegration, not cultural replacement. This paperback book describes American Indian education by the colonial missionaries from 1492 to 1776, through the western removal, the period of government control and mission schools following the Civil War, the Indian New Deal, and the recent period of self-determination. This book contains 178 references. (DHP)

* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *

PC017681

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

- ☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
- ☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Jon Reyhner

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

2

A History
Of Indian
Education

Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder

Native American Studies
Eastern Montana College
Billings

Acknowledgements

This book is an expansion of the chapter "The Historical Background of Indian Education" that the authors wrote for *Teaching the Indian Child: A Bilingual/Multicultural Approach* in 1986. The printing of that book was funded under a Title VII Bilingual Dean's Grant from the United States Department of Education. The printing of this book is funded through an Eastern Montana College faculty development grant.

We appreciate the patience our families -- Stan Vlahovich and Kim Yellowtail and Marie, Deborah and Tsosie Reyhner -- have shown through the years we have worked on both our degrees and this book.

We thank Charlotte Lauzon and Dale Harvey of the EMC Printing Services for their skillful work in printing this book, Joe Heins and Charles Rightmire of the EMC News Media Services for the cover and editing, and Amy Gibler of the EMC book store for her past assistance. We would also like to thank the administration of Eastern Montana College for its support, especially President Bruce Carpenter, Academic Vice President Ronald Sexton and the Deans of Education and Arts and Sciences, Benedict Surwill and W. Boyd Barrick.

We are indebted to the work of Margaret Layman, Francis Paul Prucha, Margaret Connell Szasz and many others whose interest in Indian education helped make this book possible.

While the past assistance of the U.S. Department of Education and the present assistance of Eastern Montana College is appreciated, the authors alone are responsible for the content of this book. The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of Eastern Montana College or any other agency.

Copyright © 1989 by Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder
All Rights Reserved
Printed in the United States of America
2nd printing, 1990, with corrections

Additional copies may be ordered from:
Jon Reyhner, Native American Studies
Eastern Montana College
Billings, MT 59101-0298

Table of Contents

1	Historical Overview	1
2	1492-1776: Colonial Missionaries	9
	Catholic Missionaries, Protestant Missionaries, John Eliot and the <i>Indian Bible</i> , Thomas Mayhew, Jr. and the Wampanoags, Eleazar Wheelock and Samson Occom, The Founding of Dartmouth College	
3	1776-1867: Western Removal	24
	Cherokee Education, Education in the Northwest, Removal, Schooling for the Creeks and Choctaws, The Indian Bureau	
4	1867-1924: Government Control	38
	English Only, Missionaries and Native Languages, Allotment, The Catholic-Protestant Fight, Early Reform Efforts, Teacher Training, Indian Renaissance	
5	Mission Schools	64
	The Board of Foreign Missions, Saint Labre Indian School, Hampton Institute, Teachers and Students, Charles Eastman, The End of Contract Mission Schools	

Richard Henry Pratt, Carlisle Indian School, Other Government Boarding Schools, Students, Teachers, The Returned Students

7	1924-1944: A New Deal	100
	John Collier - The Early Years, The Meriam Report, Indian New Deal	
8	1944-1969: Termination	110
	Special Navajo Five Year Program, The "New Frontier" of Indian Education, School Descriptions, Bright Spots on the Horizon	
9	1969-1989: Self-Determination	122
	Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rock Point Community School, Bilingual Education, Tribal Education Policies	
	Appendix: American Indians Today	138
	Bibliography	141
	Index	153

Tables:

1.	Nonreservation Boarding Schools as of 1905	86
2.	Bordertown Dormitory Enrollment	115
3.	Number of Indian Children Enrolled in School	140

Chapter 1

Historical Overview

This book describes efforts by immigrants to the North American continent to make over into pseudo-Europeans the native inhabitants who Columbus mistakenly lumped together under the term "Indians." It also describes the resistance and cooperation that the Indians exhibited in reaction to these efforts.

The goal of assimilating the first Americans into an alien, technologically advanced culture was repeatedly questioned by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white teachers, but its accomplishment seemed inevitable as over the course of four centuries superior weaponry and foreign diseases conquered the Indians. Only in the Twentieth Century, the fifth century of Indian-white contact, has serious consideration been given to allowing Indians to choose their own destiny.

A popular historical notion has been that traditional Indian society has prevented Native Americans from becoming educated. In the late Nineteenth Century, reformers felt that the only thing needed to get Indians to progress quickly was to detribalize and individualize them. With this accomplished by boarding schools and the break up of reservations, Indians could "leap into the mainstream of American life" (Utley, 1984, p. 211). Education in white ways was seen as a way to destroy Indian tribal life, to rid the government of its trust and treaty responsibilities, and to compensate Indians for land taken from them.

However, attempts at quick assimilation have, in fact, often led to failure. Rapid erosion of traditional culture by submersing students into an all-English environment in boarding schools often led to cultural disintegration, not cultural replacement. As early as 1928, an investigation of the

Bureau of Indian Affairs called for a curriculum based more on "local Indian life, or at least written within the scope of the child's early experiences" (Meriam, 1928, p. 33). The anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn, describing the impact of white culture on the nation's largest tribe, wrote, "Navajo culture is becoming an ugly patchwork of meaningless and unrelated pieces, whereas it was once a finely patterned mosaic" (1962, p. 340).

The Cherokees in the 1830s, using an alphabet invented by a tribal member, Sequoyah, started their own educational system which developed literacy in Cherokee as well as English. They also published a bilingual Cherokee-English newspaper. However, their press was taken away by the state of Georgia, and later their schools were taken over by the federal government and made public schools. Many Indians see the loss of their language as "one of the most critical problems" facing Indian people today. The loss of language leads to a breakdown in communication between children and their grandparents and causes them to be "cut off from their past and their heritage" (Ahenakew, 1986, p. 1). Tribal heritage is not outdated in modern society as it provides a sense of group membership and belonging that is badly needed in today's individualistic and materialistic modern society. In the words of John Collier, Franklin D. Roosevelt's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, modern society has lost the "passion and reverence for human personality and for the web of life and the earth which the American Indians have tended as a central sacred fire" (1947, p. 17).

Decades ago, perceptive teachers of Indian students saw the advantages of using Indian languages and recognized the gap between what Indians wanted and what was forced upon them in mission and government schools. In the last thirty years the Civil Rights Movement has focused attention on the rights of Native Americans. Reports including *Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge* (1969) focused attention on schools serving Indian students which were also being examined from an anthropological perspective (King, 1967; Wolcott, 1967). Schools for Indians were found to be destructive to the identity of the children

they served. The cultural discontinuity between home and school, and the fact that they often did not recognize and build upon the heritage of Indian students made them ineffective (Garcia, 1988; Spindler, 1987). The need for culturally appropriate teaching methods and materials for Indian students, including instruction and materials in their native languages, is still acute in most schools.

Today there is danger on several fronts to a culturally appropriate curriculum for minority group children in the United States. The "English Only" movement, as promoted by groups such as *U.S. English* which advocates the adoption of English as an official language (presumably to be used as the sole language in all official government activities including public schools), jeopardizes the early education of non-English speaking American children (Crawford, 1990). The "cultural literacy" movement that has received a lot of media attention following publication of E. D. Hirsch, Jr.'s book *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (1987) jeopardizes the teaching of non-Western, non-European and non-Judeo-Christian heritages in our schools.

Before the Europeans came, traditional education for Native Americans began in the extended family with the teaching of survival skills which allowed Indian children to learn how to procure food and shelter in an often hostile environment and how to live in harmony with nature and their fellow man (Morey & Gilliam, 1974). Apprenticeship provided a means of higher education for those seeking to become healers and religious leaders. These traditional educational practices produced tribal members fit to survive and prosper in the North American environment. With the coming of the Europeans, the living conditions of Native Americans changed rapidly through the introduction of guns, horses, Christianity, new diseases and many other foreign developments.

Federal Indian policy has swung between supporting tribal governments and trying to destroy them. Allotment of Indian lands at the end of the Nineteenth Century and termination of Indian reservations in the 1950's are one side of the pendulum's swing, and John Collier's Indian New Deal

and the current policy of self-determination are the other side. Most recently, self-determination in education has led to an increased number of Indian controlled schools.

Many reservation schools now have large numbers of Indian teachers; however, efforts to seriously modify the curriculum have not really taken place except in a few schools such as Rock Point Community School described in Chapter 9. Often the purpose of local control became, as it did with the first locally controlled school at Rough Rock, more to provide employment on reservations than to provide quality education (McCarty, 1987; Szasz, 1977). Some reservations have unemployment rates as high as eighty per cent. The pressing need for employment has often overridden what is not a clear-cut educational mandate in the first place.

The economic rehabilitation of reservations that John Collier hoped for fifty years ago is still mostly a dream. However, Indian people have been given a say in their own destiny through elected parent committees, school boards and tribal councils. As the federal government cuts funding to all programs, the question these groups have to answer becomes whether the schools can turn out Indian graduates who are self assured, employable and capable of providing leadership in making reservations self sufficient.

Over the years the goals, content, methods and delivery of Indian education have changed. The predominant historical goal of coercive assimilation of Indian students into the dominant society has often led to students being forbidden to speak their tribal languages in school and having their tribal traditions labeled sinful and, more recently, enemies of progress. Had the goal of assimilation been realized, there would be no culturally recognizable Indian people today. However, many Indian children did not find success in schools which did not recognize their tribal language and culture, and many older Indians have worked strenuously to preserve their heritage. Today, accreditation associations require schools to have multicultural components in their educational programs so that students learn to respect and appreciate the various cultures found in the World.

In colonial times Christianity was synonymous with civilization and Indian students were taught to read so they could read the Bible. If Indian languages were used, it was to facilitate conversion to Christianity. As school textbooks became popular in the Nineteenth Century, Indians were usually portrayed as savages. In the Twentieth Century some Indian culture, history and languages have been used in Indian schools, but textbook content, even in Indian schools, still overwhelmingly reflects the dominant, white culture.

The growing separation of church and state has led to the secularisation of curriculum in both public and Indian schools. In colonial times, Christian missions provided formal Indian education. In the Nineteenth Century the public school system developed, and government funding of church affiliated schools was cut back. In Indian education, government-run schools increasingly replaced government-funded mission schools. In the Twentieth Century state-oriented public schools have increasingly replaced federally run Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools. In the last twenty years there also has been a small revival of tribally controlled schools operated under contract with the BIA.

Teachers have also changed, becoming more professional. In colonial times little or no formal requirements were required for teaching. By the end of the Nineteenth Century BIA teachers were required to take Civil Service examinations though they did not need college degrees. Today some states require a fifth year after the bachelor's degree in order to become certified to teach. The raising of professional standards for teachers has been a mixed blessing for Indians as teachers are not tested for their knowledge of Indian culture and the use of culturally biased tests has made it more difficult for Indians to enter the teaching profession.

Whatever their training, teachers who have been responsive to their students have been more successful than those who have slavishly taught from textbooks and curriculums that may or may not reflect the culture of their students. The results of a study of a successful mission school in Alaska indicated that a key factor in the school's success was

that teachers and other school staff took an interest in the lives of their students. Friendly, informal discussions increased the students' knowledge. Students from this school did well in college, even though they did not perform well on standardized tests (Kleinfeld, 1979).

Unlike public schools that are run by locally elected school boards, Indian schools were first run by mission societies and then directly by the U.S. Government. The five civilized tribes which ran their own school system in Oklahoma in the second half of the Nineteenth Century had their schools taken over by the U.S. Government in the same way they had their lands taken away in the first half of the Nineteenth Century by Congressional fiat. Only in the last twenty years have Indians gained a measure of local control over both BIA and public schools enrolling a majority of Indian students.

All the above changes in purpose, curriculum, pedagogy and governance have still not made it possible for the average Indian student to do as well as the average non-Indian student in school. The continued failures of Indian education, especially the failure of large numbers of Indian students in mission, BIA and public schools over the years, has led to a number of studies including the 1928 Meriam and 1969 Kennedy Reports that have investigated the goals, content, methods and delivery of Indian education and searched for answers as to why Indian students have failed to learn to read and write as well as non-Indian students. These reports became ammunition for reformers who used them over the years to support the passage of a variety of special programs funded by the federal government. Some, such as the 1934 Johnson O'Malley (J-O'M) and 1972 Indian Education (Title IV) Acts, are for Indian students only. Others, including Chapter 1, Bilingual Education (Title VII) and Special Education, are for any students who meet the achievement, language or handicap criteria of the laws.

Perhaps the greatest danger facing Indian education today is the increasing use of standardized tests in all facets of education. Young minority students who do not do well on these tests are put in special education and basic skills

programs rather than culturally appropriate programs. High school students are tracked into non-college-bound curriculums based on achievement tests, and college students are denied access to professional programs.

In one state only four percent of Native Americans who took it passed the Pre-Professional Skills Test required to get into teacher education. This test is no more relevant to the specific challenges of Indian education than the civil service examination taken by Indian Service teachers in the late Nineteenth Century. In 1979 the California State Supreme Court, in *Larry P. v. Wilson Riles, State Board of Education*, banned the use of intelligence tests to place Black students into special education programs because of the tests' cultural biases. Most, if not all, standardized tests used in education today share the same cultural biases against Indians and other racial and ethnic minorities that the California State Supreme Court found objectionable.

Another complicating factor in Indian education has been its economic side. The need to educate Indians has been used to get money from both private donors and government grants. Colonists used Indian education as a way to receive donations from England which sometimes were then used to pay for the education of white children. In the Nineteenth Century corruption in the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) which diverted money into the pockets of contractors and Indian agents was a notorious problem receiving national attention. When Civil Service reforms brought corruption under control, the rapid growth of the budget for Indian education seemed to give the bureaucracy that administered it a life independent of the students served. Public school boards of education and superintendents, once not interested in having Indian students, became interested when Congress authorized tuition payments and then Impact Aid funding to replace the lack of property taxes from Indian trust land.

Today, more than ever, educators need to become advocates for Indian students, protecting them from culturally insensitive textbooks, curriculums and tests. The five centuries of white ethnocentrism, cultural chauvinism and insensitivity to Indian needs described in this book still exist.

Indian students' lives can be changed for the better by teachers who go beyond teaching to learning about their students' cultures. Rather than justifying a one-way monocultural, "English Only," education for assimilation, the historical record presented in this book again and again documents the advantages of a two-way exchange between Indian and white societies.

For educators and policy makers to understand today why the various programs in Indian schools exist and to understand why certain types of curriculum are considered more likely to lead to success, they must know about the past failures and successes of Indian education. Looking backward over the last five centuries can give some insight into what works in Indian education. Despite the fact that Indian education has been characterized in a 1969 congressional report as "a national tragedy," there have always been responsive teachers who have worked to meet the special needs of Native American students. Native Americans were becoming teachers and ministers two centuries ago and doctors a century ago, and more and more are successfully attending universities and colleges today. They are discovering for themselves what works in Indian education and expressing their ideas both in words and acts.

Chapter 2

1492-1776

Colonial Missionaries

The first white teachers of Indians were Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Their goal was to Christianize, civilize and assimilate Indians into European culture. They had trouble understanding the Indians' attitude towards their children. Jesuit Father le Jeune wrote in 1634,

these Barbarians cannot bear to have their children punished, nor even scolded, not being able to refuse anything to a crying child. They carry this to such an extent that upon the slightest pretext they would take them away from us, before they were educated. (Layman, 1942, p. 21)

Frequent mention is made of how Indian parents loved their children and did not want them to be taken away to be educated. A Jesuit wrote in 1639 that "they love their Children above all things" (Szasz, 1988, p. 8). For most students, the influence of parents far outweighed the influence of missionaries when the students remained at home. Since this frustrated efforts at conversion to Christianity and the European way of life, it created a demand to separate Indian children from their parents by placing them in white homes or boarding schools.

Although North American tribes spoke some 600 different languages, had different religions and lived in different ways, George A. Pettitt (1946) found similarities in child-rearing practices among tribes. He found that central to native education practices was training for survival. If crying would give away a band to the enemy, then babies were taught not to cry by cutting off their air supply. The fight for survival

taught the Indian humility. Man did not hold dominion over the earth as some Christians preached, but rather lived in harmony with the earth. A Cree hunter stated this philosophy:

The man who earns his subsistence from hunting, who survives, as the Indians say, from the land depends on knowing where he must stand in the strangely efficient and mysterious balance that is arranged for the propagation of all life... In this scheme of things the man is not dominant; he is a mere survivor, like every other form of life. (Szasz, 1988, p. 12)

Tribes in what became the Eastern and Southwestern United States had the same attitude towards growing corn, melons and beans.

Knowledge of tribal traditions was a second necessity to a child's education. Through ceremonies, storytelling and apprenticeship, children learned the culture of their parents. Play was a third way Indian children were educated. Some games were called "the little brother of war" as they taught the skills necessary to handle weapons and developed physical endurance. Pretty Shield, a Crow, described putting up a play tent and going through all the household activities she would later take on for real when she married (Linderman, 1972). Children learned by observing, then mimicking their parents.

Missionaries were critical of Indian cleanliness and ceremonies, but as teachers they were most critical of the apparent lack of discipline of Indian children. In many tribal cultures, physical punishment of children was unacceptable. Children were taught to endure pain stoically, and the ability to accept pain without emotion was a sign of maturity. In this way of thinking, punishing through pain did not make sense. Teasing, ostracism, peer pressure and other alternatives were used to maintain discipline. In addition tribal stories often indicated that children who went outside the bounds of tribal custom would be severely punished by supernatural powers (Szasz, 1988).

Missionaries disturbed what had been successful, functioning societies. Rarely did they study native customs before they sought to change them. Some would learn a tribal language, but few would come to appreciate the tribal culture. Indian religions were simply false and of the devil. As a result, missionaries had the most success when Indian societies began to disintegrate from the onslaught of war, foreign diseases and famine. The dislocation of most Indians from their ancestral homelands and lifestyles made matters worse.

In addition, missionaries only represented one type of white people. Indian's were confused when other "Christians," and even some missionaries, cheated them and did not practice what they taught and preached. Sioux author and doctor Charles Eastman (1915) felt the real civilizing influences on the Indians were whiskey and gunpowder. As a result, Indians often learned the worse habits of the whites (Kneale, 1950). To make matters worse, Indians who did give up their language and culture to accept Christianity and become assimilated usually continued to face racial prejudice.

Catholic Missionaries

The Spanish after 1492 sought both to exploit Indians through forced labor and to convert them to Catholicism. Unlike many of the English colonists who brought their families and planned to settle permanently in the New World, many French and Spanish Catholics came alone to make their fortune with plans to eventually return to Europe. Where English colonists saw Indians as an impediment to their settling, the French and Spanish saw them as a cheap source of labor. The Spanish system of *encomienda* gave the conquistadors grants of land, and local Indians went with the land in semi-slavery as part of the "spoils of conquest."

The Spanish government intended holders of the land grants to civilize and Christianize their Indians, but this seldom happened. Instead, the Spanish conquerors worked the Indians to death in mines and fields in their rush to return to Spain rich. Father Bartolome de Las Casas estimated

that in the first fifty years of the Spanish conquest 12,000,000 Indians died. Las Casas protested the mistreatment of Indians and their portrayal as irredeemable savages. He wrote,

God created these simple people without evil and without guile. They are most obedient and faithful to their natural lords and the Christians whom they serve...Surely [they] would be most blessed in the world if only they worshiped the True God. (McAlister, 1984, p. 154)

In 1537 Pope Paul officially declared "that the Indians are truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith, but according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it" (McAlister, 1984, p. 154). Unfortunately for the Indians this liberal view of their humanity was held more in Europe than in the Americas. However, the colonial attitude that Indians were savages, little or no better than animals, did not stop large scale intermixing of races by both the Spanish and French who, unlike the English, tended to leave their women in Europe. This intermixing created new groups of people including the Metis of Canada and the Mestizos of the American Southwest and Central and South America.

Catholic missionaries sought to separate Indians from both their nomadic way of life and the corrupting influence of frontier whites and to settle them around churches in a feudal pattern. When DeNavarez took possession of the coast around Pensacola Bay, Florida, he had with him four Franciscan fathers who came to start missions. In 1568, the Jesuits established a school in Havana for Florida Indian youths (*Indian Education*, 1969). Jesuits and Franciscan Gray Friars established a number of missions in what is now Florida after 1573 until the English attacked in 1703 and 1704.

The first permanent mission in New Mexico was founded in 1598. For the next three centuries almost 300 Franciscans, 38 of whom were killed by Indians, worked in the American Southwest. Father Junipero Serra founded the first California Mission in 1769. By 1808 there were nineteen

California Missions stretching up the coast along El Camino Real (The Royal Road). The Catholic missions were largely financed by the state to civilize the frontier. Mission lands were held in common, and Spanish was the language of the missions. Religious instruction and agricultural training were important as the missions were largely self-sufficient using Indian labor. The Indians of the Southwest were found to be more agrarian and peaceful than those of the Northeast.

In the Northeast, Jesuits after 1611 established missions in what is now Maine, New York, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois and Canada plus one in Louisiana which was reached by going down the Mississippi River. A description of a Jesuit Indian school is found in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1637. The students rose to say their prayers and then go to mass. After breakfast they were taught reading and writing. After a brief recess, the priest taught them the catechism. After dinner they had more prayers with reading in the afternoon. Then they had a recreation period, supper, more prayers, then they went to bed (Layman, 1942).

Protestant Missionaries

While they never equaled the Catholic effort, Protestant missionary efforts followed on the heels of Protestant colonists (Bowden, 1981). The first royal Charter for the Colony of Virginia in 1606 commended the founders for their "desires for the Furtherance of so noble a work... in propagating the Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God" with the hope that they "may in time bring the infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility" (Vogel, 1972, pp. 45-46). In 1617 King James asked Anglican clergy to collect money "for the erecting of churches and schools for ye education of ye children of these barbarians in Virginia" (Report, 1976, p. 26). Some Catholic and Protestant missionaries found the best way to explain Christianity was to learn Indian languages and to preach and translate the Bible and other religious works into those

languages, as they had been translated in the preceding centuries into the many languages of Europe.

John Eliot and the *Indian Bible*

The first Charter for Massachusetts Bay Colony declared in 1629 the "principall ende of this plantation" to be to "win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of mankinde, and the Christian Fayth" (Vogel, 1972, p. 46). While converting Indians never actually was the principle purpose of the colonists, there was some missionary effort by the Puritans (Congregationalists) in Massachusetts. In 1631, the Reverend John Eliot arrived in America and established a school in Roxbury near Boston. Five years later he instructed some Pequot war captives "in the habits of industry." While he used the native language, Eliot did not try to draw any connection between Christianity and traditional culture. Instead, he encouraged converts to come together in small, self-governing towns where they could be instructed in Christian ethics and arts. In these "praying towns," Indians were to dress and live like the colonists.

From 1651 to 1674, he helped found fourteen praying towns with an estimated 1,111 inhabitants of which 142 could read in their own language and 72 could write in English. Natick was the first praying town, and there Eliot conducted a sort of summer teacher training for young Indians. They were taught English, Latin and Greek. Eliot taught using lectures after which student questions were discussed. Eliot's work was most successful with Indians weakened by war and disease brought on by the English migration, since, to be accepted by the Puritans, Indians had to give up totally their old way of life, including long hair for men and short hair for women (Layman, 1942; Szasz, 1988).

Eliot was assisted by a number of Indians. They taught him the Massachusetts language and served as translators. One became a printer. The first was a Montauk captive named Cockenoe who learned to read and write. He went on to make his living as an interpreter and defended Montauk ownership of Manhansick (Shelter) Island from claims by the colonists.

While willing to work with Indians and eager to convert them, Eliot did not treat them as equals. For example, they received far less pay than whites for similar work (Szasz, 1988).

In 1646 Eliot arranged for two young Massachusetts Indians to be educated. One of these, Job Nesuton, became an interpreter, teacher and translator. The help of Nesuton enabled Eliot to complete the *Indian Bible* made possible through funds raised in Great Britain to Christianize Indians. In 1663 fifteen hundred copies of the *Indian Bible* were printed in the Massachusetts dialect of the Algonquian language at Harvard University, which had been founded in 1636 in part to provide education for Indian youth. However, very few Indians ever were successfully educated at Harvard. A Nipmuc Indian, Wowaus, was sent by his family to get an English education when he was five. He probably was educated for a few years at Harvard and Corlet's Cambridge Grammar School. Under the English name of James Printer, he was apprenticed as a printer and probably helped print the first *Indian Bible* and many of the other Indian books Eliot was able to print.

The attack on the New England colonists by the Indians in King Phillip's War in 1675-76 brought about the destruction of most of Eliot's praying towns, even when the inhabitants tried to stay out of the war. Most of the books that had been printed in Algonquian were also destroyed. The converts were interned in Boston Harbor by fearful colonists. While James Printer had sided with King Phillip, he took advantage of an amnesty and returned to help Eliot reprint the *Indian Bible*, primers and other missionary materials (Szasz, 1988).

Thomas Mayhew, Jr. and the Wampanoags

In contrast to the usual pattern of native resistance to or cultural disintegration from assimilation, the Island of Martha's Vineyard gives an alternate model of Indian-white contact as it could have been if Puritan missionaries had not demanded cultural suicide. In addition, the isolation of Martha's Vineyard protected its inhabitants from the destruction of King Phillip's War. Thomas Mayhew, Sr. was the first missionary on Martha's Vineyard. His son Thomas

Mayhew, Jr. also worked with the 1,500 to 3,000 Wampanoags on Martha's Vineyard in the 1640's. Whites did not become a majority on the Island for another 80 years (Ronda, 1981).

Unlike Eliot's praying towns where Indians were only Christianized, on Martha's Vineyard Christianity was also Indianized. Eliot put civilization before Christianity while Mayhew's first priority was belief in God. Mayhew was interested in getting Indians to think about theological questions such as what kind of being God was (Szasz, 1988).

Once a few Wampanoags were converted, they became the nucleus for further conversions which continued from generation to generation. Christianized Indians served as deacons, magistrates and preachers. A few became "voracious" readers of religious books in both English and Algonquian. The new religion did not stop all Indians from drinking, but it helped control the scourge. Thomas Mayhew, Jr.'s brand of Christianity and that of his Indian successors according to Ronda, "tended to elevate and honor the roles and tasks of Indian women" and "attracted Indian women by valuing their traditional roles" (1981, p. 385-386). He goes on to maintain that,

Christianity on the island was closely linked to formal schooling for converts. Educational opportunities extended to Indian women proved a powerful incentive for both conversion and continued Christian affiliation. The Indian churches promoted literacy among women and gave educated women a place to use their learning. (Ronda, 1981, p. 387)

The literate Christian Indians of Martha's Vineyard, unlike many converts elsewhere, had a good understanding of Christian theology (Ronda, 1981).

Eleazar Wheelock and Samson Occom

In 1734 John Sergeant, a Congregationalist minister and former Yale tutor, opened a school in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, with twenty Indian students. He became fluent in the Muhhakanek language. When he died in 1749,

the school had fifty-five students. The school was partially supported by gifts from rich Londoners and a grant from the Massachusetts General Assembly. The school continued to operate only a few years more, and some students went on to Dartmouth College founded by Eleazar Wheelock (Layman, 1942).

Where John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, Jr. were in the forefront of the first generation of colonial missionaries, Eleazar Wheelock and his Mohegan student Samson Occom were among the most prominent of the second generation. Wheelock was born in Windham, Connecticut, in 1711, graduated from Yale University in 1733, and in the 1740's became a leader of the religious revival called the Great Awakening that was sweeping through the colonies. While there was no popular support for Christianizing Indians and some support for exterminating them, Wheelock became interested, as John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, Jr. had before him, in converting Indians. His greatest success was with one of his first students, a young Mohegan named Samson Occom. Occom was caught up in the evangelical enthusiasm of the Great Awakening which he first heard about when he was sixteen. In 1743, when he was twenty, he got his mother to go to Reverend Mr. Wheelock and ask him to teach her son reading.

Wheelock's idea of Indian education was to remove Indian children from their homes to a boarding school, Moor's Indian Charity School, to give boys the basics of a secular and religious education and "husbandry" (farm chores) and girls what would be called today home economics (Layman, 1942). Among other things, he taught Occom and his other students Greek and Latin which he felt were essential for future missionaries. The Protestant emphasis on each person interpreting the Bible for himself led to an emphasis on each person being able to read the original Greek, Latin and Hebrew Biblical texts. Szasz gives the following description:

At Moor's School, the day began before sunrise. Following early morning prayer and catechism, the boys

remained in the classroom until noon, where they received a classical training in Latin and Greek, and sometimes Hebrew. After a two-hour break, they returned to work until 5:00 P.M. Just before dark, they attended evening prayers and public worship, and then studied until bedtime. This schedule was altered only on Sunday, when they spent the day in meetings and catechism classes. (1988, p. 223)

The father of one of Wheelock's Indian students wrote complaining that if his son was to spend his time doing farm chores he might as well be back home. Indian girls only spent one day a week at the school. They spent the other days working in neighborhood homes where they were probably treated, in the words of Layman, "little better than servants." While primarily motivated by religion, Wheelock also argued in 1762 that missionaries and schoolmasters were cheaper than fortresses and wars. He also insisted that whites and Indians be taught the same subjects (Layman, 1942).

Occom was ordained as a Congregational minister in 1759. He went to Long Island as a missionary and teacher for twelve years. He writes,

I kept School as I did before and Carried on the Religious Meetings as often as ever, and attended the Sick and their Funerals, and did What Writings they wanted, and often Sat as a Judge to reconcile and Decide their Matters between them, and had Visitors of Indians from all Quarters; and, as our Custom is, we freely Entertained all Visitors, And was fetched often from my Tribe and from others to See into their Affairs Both Religious & Temporal. (Blodgett, 1935, p. 45)

While not paid as well as white missionaries doing less work among the Indians, Occom managed to raise a family of six children and minister and teach his congregation. He left a description of his teaching:

My Method in the School was, as Soon as the Children got together, and took their proper Seats, I Prayed with them, then began to hear them. I generally began (after Some of them Could Spell and Read) with those that were yet in their Alphabets; So around, as they were properly Seated, till I go through; and I obliged them to Study their Books, and to help one another; When they Could not make out a hard word, they Brought it to me—and I Usually heard them, in the Summer Season 8 Times a Day 4 in the morning and in ye after Noon. In the Winter Season 6 Times a Day, as Soon as they could Spell, they were obliged to Spell whenever they wanted to go out. I Concluded with Prayer... I found Difficulty with Some Children, who were Somewhat Dull. most of these can soon learn to Say over their Letters, they Distinguish the Sounds by the Ear, but their Eyes can't Distinguish the Letters, and the way I took to Cure them, was by making an Alphabet on Small bits of paper, and glued them on Small Chips of Cedar—after this Manner—A B etc. I put these Letters in order on a Bench, then point to one Letter and bid a Child to take notice of it, and then I order the Child to fetch me the Letter from ye Bench... When they can bring any Letters, this way, then I just Jumble them together, and bid them to Set them in Alphabetical order, and it is a Pleasure to 'em; and they soon Learn their Letters this Way. (Blodgett, 1935, pp. 45-46)

Occom's teaching methodology is similar to other descriptions from the Eighteenth Century. A hornbook, a three-by-five-inch paddle printed with the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer was often the child's first "book." The emphasis on learning the names of letters continued into the Nineteenth Century and the purpose of learning to read was to memorize Bible verses (Goodman et al., 1988). Later, Occom's involvement in helping his tribe keep their lands caused a rift with the church. He also tried to resettle southern New England Indians in upstate New York in a religiously oriented community,

Brothertown, which he may have patterned after one of Eliot's praying towns that he had visited years before.

Another famous student at Wheelock's school was Joseph Brant, a Mohawk. He learned to write his own language from Anglican missionaries and teachers. At sixteen, he and two other students were recruited by Samson Occom to attend Moor's Indian Charity School where he stayed two years. His sister lived with Sir William Johnson, the British Indian superintendent, in upstate New York. In 1763 he returned home and went on to become a leader of the pro-British tribes in the American Revolution. Later, living in Canada, he collaborated in writing the 1786 edition of the *Mohawk Prayer Book* which contained his translation of the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer* and the *Gospel of Mark* (O'Donnell, 1980). Brant's sons attended Dartmouth College (Layman, 1942).

The Founding of Dartmouth College

In 1766 at the behest of Wheelock, Samson Occom went to England to preach and raise money for educating Indians. He was given much more respect by the English than he had ever been given by the colonists. He raised over eleven thousand pounds which was used by Wheelock to found Dartmouth College. The college's charter established it,

for the education and instruction of youth of the Indian Tribes in this Land in reading, writing, and all parts of Learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and christianizing Children of Pagans as well as in all Liberal Arts and Science; and also of English youth and any others. (Layman, 1942, pp. 87-88)

Occom became upset when the college accepted more whites than Indians. However, Dartmouth has continued to educate a few Indians till this day. Dartmouth was the only college in the colonies that remained open throughout the Revolutionary War. In 1775 the Continental Congress appropriated five hundred dollars to support Indian youth at

Dartmouth in an attempt to get more Indian support for the Revolution.

Layman (1942) concluded that Wheelock's failure to provide living conditions for his students that would make them feel more at home and his failure to adapt the curriculum to meet their special needs caused his efforts to fail. Algonquian Indian missionaries trained by him shared his prejudices. When sent among the Iroquois, these civilized Algonquian Indian missionaries, mirroring the colonists' prejudices, felt the Iroquois were foreign savages (Szasz, 1988). Near the end of Wheelock's life (he died in 1779) he wrote,

I have turned out forty Indians who were good readers, writers, and instructed in the principles of the Christian religion...Well behaved while with me...by contact with the vices of their tribes, not more than half preserved their characters unstained. The rest were sunk into as low, savage, and brutish a way of living as they were before and many of the most promise have fallen lowest. (Layman, p. 92)

Wheelock's failure to note that the fall of his students from grace was probably more a result of their contact with frontier whites than with their own people is symptomatic of the missionaries' general myopia of seeing traditional tribal practices as all evil.

Harvard and Dartmouth were not the only colonial colleges set up in part to Christianize Indians. The College of William and Mary was founded in 1693 and the first Indian students attended in 1700. In 1723 a three story house for Indian students known as Brafferton was built there and remained open until the Revolution. Twenty-one years later the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, as reported by Benjamin Franklin, rejected an offer to send their sons to William and Mary:

You, who are wise, must know that different Nations have different conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our Ideas of this kind

of Education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some Experience of it; Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a Deer, or kill an Enemy, spoke our Language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less oblig'd by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make **Men** of them. (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972, p. 3)

Other missionaries and religious groups worked with different tribes during the colonial period. The Quakers, who refused to fight, gained a reputation for dealing fairly with Indians and insisting on purchasing Indian lands from the Indians themselves. Another pacifist group, the German-speaking Moravians, established Indian missions in New York and Connecticut. Moravian schoolmasters, working primarily in Pennsylvania, learned the Indian languages and tried to maintain these languages. They also taught their students German. For protection in the French and Indian War of 1764, their Indian converts were put in barracks in Philadelphia where sickness killed many of them (Layman, 1942).

The threat of Indian attack helped unify the colonies for their common defense. Both the 1643 New England Confederation and the 1754 Albany Plan of Union were spurred on by fear of Indian attack. In addition, the colonists patterned the Albany Plan and later the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution partly on the way the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy had combined for their common good (Vogel, 1972). Because of the expense of Indian

wars and the desire to preserve a profitable trade in furs, colonists were not allowed to buy Indian land in 1761. In 1763 King George issued a royal proclamation closing the West to white settlement in a further attempt to reduce friction between colonists and Indian tribes. Taxation of colonists to pay for the cost of Indian wars and a standing army, to enforce the provisions of the 1763 proclamation, was a major cause of the American Revolution. These taxes included the tax on tea which led to the "Boston Tea Party."

Chapter 3

1776-1867 Western Removal

After the American Revolution (1776-1781), the new leaders felt it was necessary to civilize Indians living in the country so that they would live in harmony with the settlers who were taking their lands. Indian education was to make yeoman farmers of Indians, thus freeing up the vast Indian hunting grounds for white settlement. Many Indian missionaries combined their attempts to Christianize Indians with the effort to make them farmers.

The new United States Constitution gave Congress the power to regulate commerce with Indian tribes and make treaties. The new government started off with good intentions. Article III of the *Northwest Ordinance* of 1787 declared,

The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress. (Vogel, 1972, p. 74)

In his fourth annual address to Congress in 1792, President Washington declared,

I can not dismiss the subject of Indian affairs without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the

Indians, without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory. (Richardson, 1910, p. 119)

A year later he issued a proclamation with a reward for the apprehension of Georgians who had destroyed a Cherokee town. But the new government in Washington had no more success controlling frontier whites than had the old government in London. Speculators, settlers, traders and trappers took advantage of Indians who would then retaliate. There would be a cry for the army and a new Indian war would start, usually with the Indians losing. The Indians would give up more land and be moved further west. Alexis de Tocqueville, in his book *Democracy in America*, spoke of great evils in the young republics treatment of Indians. He wrote that the tribes stood in the path of the greediest nation on earth, a nation destitute of good faith:

At the end of the year 1831 I was on the left bank of the Mississippi, at the place the Europeans call Memphis. While I was there a numerous band of Choctaws... arrived; these savages were leaving their country and seeking to pass over to the right bank of the Mississippi, where they hoped to find an asylum promised to them by the American government. It was then the depths of winter, and that year the cold was exceptionally severe; the snow was hard on the ground, and huge masses of ice drifted on the river. The Indians brought their families with them; there were among them the wounded, the sick, newborn babies, and old men on the point of death. They had neither tents nor wagons, but only some provisions and weapons. I saw them embark to cross the great river, and the sight will never fade from my memory. Neither sob nor complaint rose from that silent assembly. Their afflictions were long standing, and they felt them irremediable. (1966, pp. 298-299)

Congress approved its first Indian treaty with the Delaware tribe in 1778. The 1794 Treaty with the Oneida,

Tuscarrora and Stockbridge Indians provided for "employing one or two suitable persons...to instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of miller and sawyer" (Task Force, 1976, p. 63). The 1803 Treaty with the Kaskaskias stated:

Whereas, The greater part of the said tribe have been baptized and received into the Catholic church to which they are much attached, the United States will give annually for seven years one hundred dollars towards the support of a priest of that religion, who will engage to perform for the said tribe the duties of his office and also to instruct as many of their children as possible in the rudiments of literature. (Washburn, 1975, p. 2310)

As more treaties were negotiated, provisions for educating and civilizing increased, sometimes at the request of the tribes who saw they would have to change to survive. In 1775, the Continental Congress recommended that Samuel Kirkland be employed to work among the Iroquois confederacy. In 1784 he worked as a missionary for the Society in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel setting up small schools in the Oneida villages where reading, writing and arithmetic were taught in Oneida and English (Layman, 1942).

The Trade and Intercourse Act of 1802 authorized the death penalty for anyone killing friendly Indians and authorized up to \$15,000 per year "to promote civilization among the friendly Indian tribes, and to secure the continuance of their friendship" (Prucha, 1975, p. 19). In the next eighty-two years, the Senate approved almost 400 treaties of which 120 had educational provisions. Almost a billion acres of land were ceded to the United States in these treaties (*Indian Education*, 1969; Task Force, 1976). Government officials saw themselves as trading education for land. Providing education was seen as a proper trade-off for land given up by the tribes. However, the tribes were not consulted when the money was distributed to missionaries for the support of schools (Adams, 1988).

Teachers in mission schools were expected to promote government policy, including the policy of removing Eastern

tribes west of the Mississippi River. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun declared it the duty of employees in government-funded missions, even if these missions were funded with tribal annuities or trust money,

to impress on the minds of the Indians the friendly and benevolent views of the government towards them and the advantages to them in yielding to the policy of the government and cooperating with it in such measures as it may deem necessary for their civilization and happiness. (Layman, 1942, p. 123)

The House Committee on Appropriations reported in 1818:

In the present state of our country one of two things seems to be necessary. Either that those sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated... Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plow... (Roessel, 1962, p. 4)

In 1819 Congress passed the Indian Civilization Fund Act which provided financial support until 1873 to religious groups and other interested individuals willing to live among and teach Indians. Ten thousand dollars a year was allowed from this fund (in addition to money for education provided to tribes by treaties), "for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization." The money was to be used with the consent of the Indians "to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them [Indians] in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined" by the President (Prucha, 1975, p. 33). Within five years of the passage of the civilization fund eighteen new

Indian schools had been established for a total of twenty-one (Layman, 1942). Descriptions of these schools are given below.

Education in the Northwest

A teacher's description of the Baptist school at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, illustrates teaching methods in the 1830's:

I attached a large sheet containing the alphabet to the side of my room, formed the small scholars into classes and placed a monitor over them, whose business it was, through the day, to march those classes one after another to the card and teach them, the whole class speaking at once. In a few weeks we had them all nicely through their alphabet. (Layman, 1942, pp. 128-129)

The missionary reported opposition from the local liquor dealers and the longer established Catholic missionaries. Another Northwest mission was that of Frederick Ayer who re-established a mission for the Western Evangelical Missionary Society of Oberlin College at Red Lake, Minnesota, in 1843. In the early years of the mission, only books written in the Chippewan language were used. When the missionaries later switched to instruction in English, the quality of education declined (Layman, 1942).

Stephen R. Riggs and his wife Mary started missionary work with the Sioux in 1837. In 1852 he published a *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language*. They found teaching English "to be very difficult and not producing much apparent fruit." It was not the students lack of ability that prevented them from learning English, but rather their unwillingness. "Teaching Dakota was a different thing. It was their own language" (Riggs, 1969, p. 61). The Riggses' children carried on their work at Santee Training School in the second half of the nineteenth century, and a Bible in Dakota was printed in 1880. Their work had many hazards including being caught up in the Minnesota Sioux Uprising of 1862. Charles Eastman (1915) dates the beginning of the change in attitude towards Indians to when Abraham Lincoln spared from hanging almost 300 men involved in that war, including Eastman's father.

Cherokee Education

The Cherokee tribe of the Southeastern United States was one of the tribes most successful in accepting civilization. "Few Cherokee found the Christian religion particularly relevant or helpful when they first heard it," according to William McLoughlin (1984, p. 22) because it "lacked the sense of balance and harmony between man and nature which was so central" to the Cherokee. However, they did want education without Christianity. A Cherokee told the Baptists in 1824, "We want our children to learn English so that the white man cannot cheat us" (McLoughlin, 1984, p. 155). Mixed bloods were more in favor of education and more accepted by missionaries.

The Cherokee mission schools were run on the new Lancastrian plan from England. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, established in 1810 with support from the Congregational, Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian Churches, in 1816 reported sending a teacher to a Lancastrian school to learn the system. In this teaching method older or more advanced pupils called monitors taught younger students. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic and morals (religion). The goal of the education was to give the students information and develop their memory (Layman, 1942). Students were given tickets for behaving and learning which could later be exchanged for additional clothing or books (McLoughlin, 1984).

According to missionaries it took three to four years of regular school attendance for Cherokee children to master the rudiments of English reading and writing. Students learned by rote, first memorizing the sounds of English. The mission schools had rigid discipline, including whipping. A Moravian missionary wrote "During school no one dare look off from his book or talk to his neighbor" (McLoughlin, 1984, p. 60). The Moravian school in 1804 had a model farm and students were kept busy from dawn to dusk. The Moravians did not learn Cherokee, even though some lived among them for twenty-five years. Missionaries preferred preaching over

dreary teaching, while the Cherokee felt elders should be teachers (McLoughlin, 1984).

There were class distinctions in the missionary work of the various denominations. The Moravians (United Brethren) and Presbyterian Board of Missions taught the Cherokee slave-owning, mixed-blooded elite while the Methodists and Baptists learned Cherokee and lived with the common people, usually full-bloods, as itinerant ministers. In contrast to the Calvinist Moravians and Presbyterians, the Baptists and Methodists used Cherokee exhorters (lay preachers) and were able to convert the poor. According to McLoughlin, "a native ministry was the key to giving vital new power to God's word among the Cherokees" (1984, p. 160). Speaking English was not a requirement to become a Methodist or a Baptist. In contrast to the Calvinist belief that people were predestined before birth to go to Heaven or Hell, the Indians found more attractive the Arminianism of Wesleyan Methodism which allowed for free will and potentially everyone to be saved.

Some Cherokee went away to Cornwall Academy in Connecticut for their education. But when two mixed blood Cherokee boys, Elias Boudinot and John Ridge, married local white girls in 1826, public outrage forced the closure of the school. Elias Boudinot became editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Started in 1828, this newspaper is reportedly the first paper to be published in English and an Indian language. Both Elias Boudinot and John Ridge were assassinated by conservative tribesmen in 1839 for agreeing to removal by signing the Treaty of New Echota negotiated by a minister in 1835.

The Cherokees adopted a constitution in 1827 that provided for the free exercise of religion and contained the following education clause modeled after the Massachusetts constitution: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged in this Nation" (McLoughlin, 1984, p. 232). The next year the Cherokee government attempted to inspect mission schools. In 1824

Georgians forced a Congressional inquiry into whether the U.S. Government should support Indian missions because the missions worked against removal. John Q. Adams' Secretary of War denounced Indian missionaries in 1828 for opposing Indian removal.

Unique among the Indians of the United States the Cherokee developed their own written language. A non-English-speaking Cherokee, Sequoya, developed a syllabary with eighty-five symbols representing sounds in his language. His syllabary was printed by a white missionary, Samuel Worcester, in 1821, and it was used by the Cherokee in both private correspondence and the tribal newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Sequoya, who later moved west to avoid whites, hoped his writing system would help preserve Cherokee heritage and religion (McLoughlin, 1984).

Removal

It is ironic, given the success of the missionary and government efforts to civilize the Cherokee, that in 1820 Congressional leaders began to develop plans to move Eastern tribes, including the Cherokee, west of the Mississippi. Although the Cherokee fought the issue clear to the Supreme Court, the discovery of gold in the Georgia portion of the Cherokee Nation ended their chance to retain their ancestral lands. In 1830 the Indian Removal Act was passed authorizing President Jackson to exchange lands in the West for those held in the Eastern States. In the 1831 Supreme Court case *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Chief Justice John Marshall opinioned,

Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable, and, heretofore, unquestioned right to the lands they occupy, until that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our government; yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy

a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian. (Vogel, 1972, p. 117)

The U.S government, by deciding who would be the Cherokee leaders, got a "voluntary cession" of Cherokee land in the East in the 1835 Treaty of New Echota, but the army had to enforce removal at gunpoint after the Georgia Guard had terrorized the Cherokee. With President Jackson's support, Georgia in 1830 passed a law that missionaries had to have licenses and take an oath of allegiance to the State of Georgia. However, in 1832 in *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court struck down this attempt by Georgia to keep missionaries and white friends off the Cherokee Nation. Again, Chief Justice Marshall held,

The treaties and laws of the United States contemplate the Indian territory as completely separated from that of the states; and provide that all intercourse with them shall be carried on exclusively by the government of the Union.

The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent, political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil, from time immemorial... The words 'treaty' and 'nation' are words of our own language, selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings, by ourselves, having each a definite and well understood meaning. We have applied them to Indians as we have applied them to the other nations of the earth. They are applied to all in the same sense. (Vogel, 1972, p. 130)

Jackson is reported to have remarked, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it" (Vogel, 1972, p. 124). The Georgia Guard forced missionaries to leave or arrested them. According to McLoughlin "the imprisonment

of white missionaries pursuing their religious duty aroused far more vehement reaction from the general public, North and South, East and West, than any oppression of the red man" (1984, p. 25). Despite winning his Supreme Court case, Reverend Mr. Worcester was given four years at hard labor for his support of the Cherokee. Eventually he agreed to leave Georgia and was pardoned. Methodist ministers preached that Jackson would go to Hell; however, Cherokees were now disillusioned with Christianity since a Christian nation forcefully had taken their lands, including mission lands, and given it to the "offscouring of American society" (McLoughlin, 1984, p. 302). As a side effect of removal, federal support for mission schools east of the Mississippi was ended in 1822, and generous subsidies were offered to move the missions west. Jackson's support of Georgia's "nullification" of federal Supreme Court decisions helped create the climate which led to southern states seceding from the Union, starting the Civil War.

While supporting the Cherokee in their resistance to removal from their ancestral lands, Worcester felt Cherokee youth who did not speak English should be removed to boarding schools. He felt they learned nothing in day schools. In the words of a missionary's wife, "In a neighborhood school the children were constantly under the influence of their Heathen parents" (McLoughlin, 1984, p. 306). Dr. Worcester established a printing press in western Cherokee country. Between 1835 and 1861 almost fourteen million pages were printed, many in Sequoya's syllabary (Foreman, 1938).

The forced removal of the remainder of the Cherokee was approved by Congress in 1838. Assembled at bayonet point and marched west, an estimated 4,000 of the 11,500 Indians who started on "The Trail of Tears" died of dysentery, malnutrition, exposure or exhaustion before they reached Oklahoma (Woodward, 1963). Despite the hardship and internal conflict produced by removal, the Cherokee soon established schools in Indian Territory. The "Five Civilized Tribes" of Oklahoma built a system of district and seminary schools. Within ten years the majority of their teachers had

changed from Eastern educated missionaries to locally-trained teachers. These schools were financed by the tribes, often with money granted them by the U.S. government for land they had ceded.

In 1841 the Cherokee National Council set up a national school system with eleven schools in eight districts. The schools taught reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, English grammar, geography and history. An act of 1845 encouraged mechanics to come into the nation and take apprentices. Male and female seminaries were opened by the tribe near Talequah, Oklahoma, in 1851 to provide high school level instruction. By 1852 the Cherokee Nation had a better common school system than the neighboring states of Arkansas and Missouri (Layman, 1942).

Schooling for the Creeks and Choctaws

The Creeks responded to removal by expelling missionaries in 1836 and persecuting converts to Christianity. A Creek spokesman responded to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, "We want a school, but we don't want any preaching, for we find that preaching breaks up all our old customs -- our feasts, ball plays, and dances -- which we want to keep" (Layman, 1942, p. 152).

Afraid by 1817 that the American Indian might become extinct if they were not civilized, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had become increasingly involved in missionary work in the West. In 1818 missionaries set off on a 400-mile overland journey to Choctaw country in what is now Mississippi. To the chagrin of the missionaries, they found the Choctaw more interested in education than Christianity. A letter sent to the board by a missionary stated, "The expectation of this people has been that all our efforts would be directed toward the commencement of a school" (Kidwell, 1987, p. 55).

Choctaw discontent with American Board missionaries who were more interested in conversion than education was given vent in 1825 when the tribe gave its treaty education funds to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. The Choctaw Academy was originally founded in 1818 by Baptists. It was

restarted in 1825 under the sponsorship of the Baptists by a "flamboyant" politician, Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who became Vice President of the United States in 1837. Johnson's purpose in establishing the school seems to have been financial gain from treaty education funds. However, the school is reported to have given students a good education. Johnson sent representatives to treaty councils to secure students and educational annuities for his school.

In 1827 the school had 101 students, and in 1835, 174 students of which 70 were Choctaw. The Academy offered reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, practical surveying, astronomy, natural philosophy, history, moral philosophy and vocal music. The Lancaster model was used to reduce costs. At first, sons of chiefs were not to have "menial" work; however, by 1833 manual training was provided and in 1838 boys were required to work in the shops.

A Lycurgus Court was organized to promote student self government. Students were also instructed in etiquette, and there was a singing society and native band. Students were encouraged to write home weekly and to support government policies such as removal in their letters. There were problems with Indian boys consorting with mulatto girls on Johnson's plantation. Johnson, with a mulatto mistress and two mulatto daughters, was not anxious for publicity over these matters and wanted the students dealt with severely and quietly.

In 1839, thirty-three students sent a letter to the Indian office complaining the school's sub-superintendent was a "profane man" and that there was much drunkenness, the Sabbath was not observed and there was no supervision at night. A Board of Inspectors found the complaint to be unfounded, but when Johnson left the Vice Presidency in 1841, the school lost its political support and remained open for only a few more years (Layman, 1942).

The American Board schools in Mississippi became feeder schools for the Choctaw Academy, and like the Academy, these schools had their problems. In 1828 a teacher in an American Board mission school admitted seducing and getting pregnant one of his students. But in spite of such

problems, they also had their successes. According to Kidwell, "the most lasting result of missionary activity among the Choctaw in Mississippi was the preservation of the Choctaw language" (1987, p. 69). Translations from the Bible introduced the Choctaw to literacy.

After removal, the Choctaw set up a system of tribal schools in 1842. By 1848 there were nine boarding schools operated by mission boards and a system of neighborhood schools was started. Despite destruction caused by the Civil War, the Choctaw school superintendent reported in 1870 that 1,764 students were attending 84 neighborhood schools taught mostly by Choctaws (Layman, 1942).

The Indian Bureau

At the same time as missionary groups expanded their efforts among Indian tribes, the U.S. Government formalized its handling of the tribes. In 1824 Congress created the Bureau of Indian Affairs within the Department of War. The position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was created in 1832. In 1839 Commissioner Harley Crawford formalized development of manual labor schools to educate Indian children in farming and homemaking (Task Force, 1976). By then the government was operating six manual training schools with 800 students and 87 boarding schools with about 2,900 students (*Indian Education*, 1969). Ten years later the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred from the War Department to the new Department of the Interior. This transfer had little effect on Indian education, however, as missionaries continued to be the major influence on Indian children.

The forced relocation and settlement of tribes on reservations caused them to become almost totally dependent on federal Indian agents for food, shelter and clothing. This was especially true for the plains tribes who had depended on the buffalo which were rapidly decimated in the third quarter of the Nineteenth Century. Education was seen as the way to get the tribes to move from their semi-nomadic hunting economy to settled farming.

By 1842 there were 52 Indian schools; the 45 reporting enrollment had 2,132 students. In 1848 there were sixteen

manual labor schools with 2,873 students. After 1848, schools in treaties were specified as manual labor or agricultural and industrial schools. In 1861 there were 147 Indian schools and ten years later, at the end of the treaty period, 286 with 6,061 students. Nearly half of those schools were in the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek nations in Indian Territory, present-day Oklahoma. The difficulty of getting parents to send their children to schools can be seen in the 1857 Pawnee treaty which stipulated that parents who refused to compel their children to regularly attend school would have money deducted from their annuities (Layman, 1942).

A Special Congressional Joint Committee chaired by Sen. Doolittle toured the West in 1865. They reported in 1867 a rapid decline in Indian population everywhere but in the Indian territories. They found the Indian wars to be a result of "the aggression of lawless whites" (Prucha, 1984). By then, Eastern tribes had, by and large, been removed to Indian Territory and Western tribes were rapidly being confined to reservations.

Chapter 4

1867-1924

Government Control

During the Civil War (1861-1865) when troops were withdrawn from the West, the Indians took advantage of the situation to reassert their rights, which led to renewed fighting. In 1867 Congress appointed a Peace Commission to deal with some hostile tribes. In its report the same year to President Andrew Johnson, the Commission deplored the attacks by whites on Indians as well as Indian attacks on whites.

Nathaniel G. Taylor, Chairman of the Peace Commission in 1867 and 1868, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and a Methodist minister, "epitomized the paternalistic outlook of Washington officialdom [and] sought the 'civilization' of the Indians with a vengeance" (Prucha, 1985, p. 16). Taylor told the Crow Indians at Fort Laramie,

Upon the reservations you select, we propose to build a house for your agent to live in, to build a mill to saw your timber, and a mill to grind your wheat and corn, when you raise any; a blacksmith shop and a house for your farmer, and such other buildings as may be necessary. We also propose to furnish to you homes and cattle, to enable you to begin to raise a supply of stock with which to support your families when the game has disappeared. We desire to supply you with clothing to make you comfortable and all necessary farming implements so that you can make your living by farming. We will send you teachers for your children. (Prucha, 1985, p. 18)

Article 7 of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie with the Sioux and their allies embodied Taylor's ideas:

In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations, and they pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years. (Prucha, 1975, p. 112)

The treaty with the Navajos made the same year contained similar provisions, but the promised teachers were much slower in coming.

When General Ulysses S. Grant, who had served in the army in the West, became president, he instituted a "Peace Policy." In his first inaugural address on March 4, 1869, he declared, "The proper treatment of the original occupants of this land—the Indians—is one deserving of careful study. I will favor any course toward them which tends to their civilization and ultimate citizenship" (Richardson, 1910, p. 3962).

Grant appointed his Civil War aide Brigadier General Ely S. Parker (Seneca) as his Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He was the first Indian to head the Indian Bureau, serving from 1869 to 1871. Denied entrance to law school because he was Indian, he chose civil engineering as an alternative (Vogel, 1972). Grant also appointed in 1869 a Board of Indian Commissioners to supervise the appointment of Indian

agents, teachers and farmers as well as the buying of supplies. This board continued to operate until 1933. The Peace Commission reported in 1869 that:

While it cannot be denied that the government of the United States, in the general terms and temper of its legislation has evinced a desire to deal generously with the Indians, it must be admitted that the actual treatment they have received has been unjust and iniquitous beyond the power of words to express.

Taught by the government that they had rights entitled to respect; when those rights have been assailed by the rapacity of the white man, the arm which should have been raised to protect them has been ever ready to sustain the aggressor.

The history of the Government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises. The history of the border white man's connection with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery and wrongs committed by the former, as the rule, and occasional savage outbreaks and unspeakable barbarous deeds of retaliation by the latter, as the exception. (Prucha, 1984, p. 509)

The Board of Indian Commissioners divided up Indian agencies among thirteen different religious groups. Because of their long and active history of missionary work among the Indians, the Catholics had expected thirty-eight reservations, but they were only given eight. The Board of Indian Commissioners was all Protestant.

Grant singled out Quakers among others for their excellent record in working with Indians:

The Society of Friends is well known as having succeeded in living in peace with the Indians in the early settlement of Pennsylvania, while their white neighbors of other sects in other sections were constantly embroiled. (Layman, 1942, p. 356)

In colonial times, the Quakers scrupulously bought Indian lands. In the post-revolutionary period, their efforts among the Indians were to educate, not convert. In 1850 they expressed their humility to a group of Indians:

With your religious concerns we have studiously avoided to interfere, not because we have deemed Religion an unimportant subject, but because we have not been called upon by our position or sent among you to teach it... It is not the extent of our theological instruction but our fidelity in the performance of manifest duty that is the measure of our acceptance in the Divine Sight. (Layman, 1942, p. 182)

From an estimated number as high as ten million before Columbus's arrival, the Indian population had rapidly declined as a result of diseases from Europe to which Indians lacked natural immunity and to increased, and increasingly deadly, owing to guns, warfare caused by the pressures of the growing white population. Even starvation took its toll as buffalo and other game disappeared. Predictions of the Indians' ultimate demise led to the popularity of the term "Vanishing American." Many humanitarians saw education and the life of a farmer as the only hope for Indians despite the fact that much of the land they had been left with was, at best, suitable for ranching. Of course, many of the policy makers in Washington had never been west of the Mississippi.

The completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869 spelled the end of protective isolation for western tribes. The driving of the Golden Spike linking California to the East allowed the culmination of white America's destiny. Americans had come to feel that their continued success was God's will and that it was their "manifest destiny to overspread and possess the whole continent which providence" had given them (Sullivan, 1845). Although a few battles were yet to be fought, tribes were no longer military powers to be negotiated with.

In 1871, in a dispute over power between the House and the Senate, Congress ended all treaty-making with Indian tribes. The end of treaty making was part of the shift in government policy from relocating Indians to the unsettled West to assimilation of Indians into the general population. The same year, William Swinton, a professor of history at the University of California, wrote in his *School History of the United States* that Indians "were destitute of all that constitutes civilization. Their main delight was war." While admitting that "whites were not always just and true and prudent in their dealings with Indians," he felt there was a "hostility between the Indian character and civilization. And it is not to be doubted that in a few more years the Red Men will have disappeared from the American continent" (1875, p. 21).

While the country was waiting for the "Vanishing American" to vanish, Congress appropriated \$100,000 in 1870 for the support of industrial and other schools among the Indian tribes. This moved education for Indians directly under the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Emphasis was on day, boarding and industrial schools emphasizing basic skills in speaking, reading and writing English, and arithmetic.

As the discovery of gold in 1828 in Georgia had led to the removal of the Cherokees and in 1849 in California had spelled doom for the Indians of the Sierra Nevada mountains, the discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1873 set the stage for the conflict between the United States and the Sioux and Cheyenne Nations. This conflict, which included the famous Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876, also went on in schools and at the various Indian agencies serving the Plains Indians. On the one side were miners and settlers who, in their pursuit of wealth, saw Indians only as obstacles to be moved out of the way. On the other side were the Indians and some missionaries and Easterners interested in protecting Indians from genocide.

Indians resisted the growing demands placed on them by the settlers and the U.S. Government. The Nez Perce in

1877 fought a long retreat through Idaho and Montana that was given extensive newspaper coverage and got them some public sympathy. In the Winter of 1878-79, the Northern Cheyenne fled Indian Territory (Oklahoma) and gave the government the choice of killing them off or letting them return to their homelands in Montana. The government temporized and gave them the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana.

Indian land speculation, in which even George Washington had been involved, was rampant in the West. What a correspondent for the Indian Bureau wrote about Nebraskans was true elsewhere in the West,

The people of that portion of Nebraska which is contiguous to the Santee reservation are clamoring for the removal of that tribe of Indians. There is no reason for this whatever except the desire to crowd the Indians out that their lands may be seized by speculators. There are thousands of acres of unbroken prairie in every section of the State, and this demand for the removal of the Santees proceeds from the most criminal selfishness. The Indians are not troublesome, and are just now making rapid strides toward a better civilization than that professed by those who are striving to despoil and drive them into the wilderness. It will be a national disgrace if Congress should listen to the voice of these Western land speculators and force the Santees to abandon their present home and their bright prospects in the near future. (*Report*, 1880, p. 78)

Contemporary Westerners usually had a dim view of Indians and the Indian Bureau officials and Eastern humanitarians who sought to protect Indian lands:

[The Indian Bureau] is responsible for arson, murder and rape; it is a refuge of incompetents and thieves... From the Indian agent the savage obtains his supplies of food to enable him to make his raids; from some creature of the agent, he obtains his supplies of

ammunition and improved arms, that make him more than a match for the raw recruit, that the American government enlists from the city slums, dignifies by the name of soldier, and sends out to meet these agile warriors.

The whole system of Indian management is a fraud: the Indian Department rotten from the outmost edge to the innermost core.

[Putting the Indian Bureau back under the army] would do away with our junketing peace commissions, composed of low-brow, thick-lipped, bottle-nosed humanitarians, the inferiors of the savages in every manly trait and objects of unlimited contempt by these shrewd marauders. (Triplett, 1883, p. 347)

In his 1857 novel *The Confidence Man*, Herman Melville described how a Westerner was brought up from an early age to hate Indians,

he hears little from his schoolmasters, the old chroniclers of the forest, but histories of Indian lying, Indian theft, Indian double-dealing, Indian fraud and perfidy, Indian want of conscience, Indian blood-thirstiness, Indian diabolism—histories which though of wild woods, are almost as full of things unangelic as the Newgate Calendar or the Annals of Europe... The instinct of antipathy against an Indian grows in the backwoodsman with the sense of good and bad, right and wrong. In one breath he learns that a brother is to be loved, and an Indian to be hated. (1971, pp. 126-127)

With the repeal of the Civilization Fund in 1873, the federal government became more involved in the direct operation of Indian schools. In the 1878 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, "education of their children" was seen as the quickest way to civilize Indians and that education could only be given "to children removed from the examples of their parents and the influence of the camps and

kept in boarding schools" (pp. xxv-xxvi). In the same report school children were described as "hostages for good behavior of [their] parents" by Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt (p. 174). The parents themselves around 1882 were in the words of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, an aide-de-camp to General Sherman, "held on reservations, actually prisoners of war" (p. 644). To leave the reservation Indians were required to have passes signed by the Indian Agent, and in turn, non-Indians needed permission to visit reservations. The absence without permission of thousands of Sioux and Cheyennes from their new reservations was the reason General Custer was looking for them on the banks of the Little Big Horn River in 1876. This requirement for permits that elevated Indian agents into the position of prison camp directors continued into the Twentieth Century.

President Grant in his second inaugural address on March 4, 1873, declared,

Our superiority of strength and advantages of civilization should make us lenient toward the Indian. The wrong inflicted upon him should be taken into account, and the balance placed to his credit. The moral view of the question should be considered and the question asked, Can not the Indian be made a useful and productive member of society by proper teaching and treatment? If the effort is made in good faith, we will stand better before the civilized nations of the earth and in our own consciences for having made it. (Richardson, 1910, p. 4176)

Under the next president, Rutherford B. Hayes, Grant's Peace Policy was continued.

In 1871 during Grant's Presidency, Senator Carl Schurz introduced a civil service bill to reduce government corruption and end the spoils system of awarding government jobs to political supporters. In 1877 President Hayes appointed Schurz as Secretary of the Interior. Schurz sought to clean up the corruption in the Indian Office. He started an investigation that uncovered many problems and led to the

dismissal of a number of Indian Bureau employees. He fought successfully to keep the Indian Bureau from being returned to the War Department and helped start a number of successful programs, including the Indian police and Carlisle Indian School (see chapter 6). When the Omaha Indian, Standing Bear (*Standing Bear v. Crook*, 1879), by renouncing his tribal affiliation won a writ of habeas corpus to keep from being forcefully returned to Indian territory, Schurz did not appeal the local court's decision (Fuess, 1932).

In 1879, near the end of Schurz's term of office, the *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* estimated there were 500 teachers in 64 boarding schools and 292 day schools teaching 13,343 students (out of 46,000 school age children) for a total cost of \$379,354. An estimated 44,731 Indians could read. The commissioners felt,

The progress of the pupils in industrial boarding schools is far greater than in day schools. The children being removed from the idle and corrupting habits of savage homes are more easily led to adopt the customs of civilized life and inspired with a desire to learn. (*Report*, 1880, p. 14)

Eight years later Commissioner J.D.C. Atkins' 1887 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* listed 68 government boarding schools with 5,484 students enrolled, 90 government day schools with 3,115 students, and five industrial boarding schools with 1,573 students. In addition, 41 boarding schools with 2,553 students and 20 day schools with 1,044 students were operated under contract, mostly by religious organizations, with the Indian Bureau. These schools cost \$1,166,025 to operate (p. xv). In the report, Atkins commended Congress's requirement that school books "teach the baneful influences of ardent spirits and narcotics" (p. xxv). Atkins concluded,

It is apparent that we have advanced far enough in the education of Indian children to be able to say that

what for a time was an experiment no longer admits of uncertainty. The Indian can be educated equally with the white or the colored man, and his education is gradually being accomplished, and at a less cost per capita from year to year as the work proceeds.... One thing is clear, the Government has made a wonderfully economic move in undertaking to educate these people in any kind of schools instead of fighting them. The cost of the schools is immeasurably less than that of the wars which they supplant... (Atkins, 1887, pp. xvi-xvii)

The experiment in education was decidedly an ethnocentric one. Through education Indians were to lose their heritage, and in particular their native language.

English Only

The "Peace Commission" of 1868 composed of Generals Sherman, Harney, Sanborn and Terry as well as Commissioner of Indian Affairs Taylor and Henderson, Tappan and Augar reported that between Indian and white it was,

The difference in language, which in a great measure barred intercourse and a proper understanding each of the other's motives and intentions.

Now, by educating the children of these tribes in the English language these differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once...

Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment, and thought; customs and habits are moulded and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated... In the difference of language to-day lies two-thirds of our trouble... Schools should be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialect should be blotted out and the English language substituted. (Atkins, 1887, p. xx)

Secretary of Interior Schurz felt the alternatives for Indians were extermination or civilization. The object of Indian policy was "unquestionably the gradual absorption of the Indians in the great body American citizenship." Reservations were seen as "socialism" (Prucha, 1973, pp. 14-15 & 73); a charge repeated recently by James Watt, Secretary of the Interior during Ronald Reagan's first term as President. By concentrating individual tribes on their own small reservation, some observers saw the government actually supporting native language use (Dodge, 1882?).

Under Schurz, the Indian Bureau issued regulations in 1880 that "all instruction must be in English" in both mission and government schools under threat of loss of government funding (Prucha, 1973, p. 199). Again in 1884 a specific order went out to a school teaching in both Dakota and English that

English language only must be taught the Indian youth placed there for educational and industrial training at the expense of the Government. If Dakota or any other language is taught such children, they will be taken away and their support by the Government will be withdrawn from the school. (Atkins, 1887, p. xxi)

It was felt by J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1885 to 1888, that "to teach Indian school children their native tongue [their "barbarous dialect"] is practically to exclude English, and to prevent them from acquiring it" (1887, p. xxiii). The ethnocentric attitude prevalent in the late Nineteenth Century is evident in Atkins' 1887 report which is worth quoting at length,

Every nation is jealous of its own language, and no nation ought to be more so than ours, which approaches nearer than any other nationality to the perfect protection of its people. True Americans all feel that the Constitution, laws, and institutions of the United States, in their adaptation to the wants and requirements of man, are superior to those of any other country; and

they should understand that by the spread of the English language will these laws and institutions be more firmly established and widely disseminated. Nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language... Only English has been allowed to be taught in the public schools in the territory acquired by this country from Spain, Mexico, and Russia, although the native populations spoke another tongue. All are familiar with the recent prohibitory order of the German Empire forbidding the teaching of the French language in either public or private schools in Alsace and Lorraine... If the Indians were in Germany or France or any other civilized country, they should be instructed in the language there used. As they are in an English-speaking country, they must be taught the language which they must use in transacting business with the people of this country. No unity or community of feeling can be established among different peoples unless they are brought to speak the same language, and thus become imbued with like ideas of duty....

The instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught....

It is believed that if any Indian vernacular is allowed to be taught by the missionaries in schools on Indian reservations, it will prejudice the youthful pupil as well as his untutored and uncivilized or semi-civilized parent against the English language, and, to some extent at least, against Government schools in which the English language exclusively has always been taught. (Atkins, 1887, pp. xxi-xxiii)

Despite patriotic announcements like the one above, observers in the field such as General Oliver O. Howard (1907) reported that successful missionary teachers learned the tribal language so that they could understand the children and the

children could understand them. Luther Standing Bear (1928), a former Carlisle student, started teaching in 1884. He reported,

At that time, teaching amounted to very little. It really did not require a well-educated person to teach on the reservation. The main thing was to teach the children to write their names in English, then came learning the alphabet and how to count. I liked this work very well, and the children were doing splendidly. The first reading books we used had a great many little pictures in them. I would have the children read a line of English, and if they did not understand all they had read, I would explain it to them in Sioux. This made the studies very interesting. (1928, pp. 192-193)

Standing Bear complained that new teachers sent to the reservations knew only books; in other words, they knew nothing of the children they were to teach. Enforcement of the English-only regulations was usually strict. Lawrence Horn, a Blackfeet, who attended the government school at Heart Butte, recalled students getting a stroke of a leather strap with holes in it every time they spoke Indian (Parsons, 1979?).

Missionaries and Native Languages

Missionaries were in favor of ending tribal traditions, but they were more willing than the government to use tribal languages in their educational efforts. For example, the mission schools for the Santee Sioux, including the Santee Sioux Normal School started in 1870 to train Sioux teachers, made extensive use of the Dakota language. A correspondent who visited schools with Secretary of Interior Schurz reported that the educational facilities of the Santee Sioux in Nebraska "are perhaps better than those of any other of the northern tribes." There was a government school, an Episcopal girl's boarding school, and American Mission male and female boarding schools under the supervision of the Reverend Alfred L. Riggs. At the mission Dakota was taught, and all the

elementary books and the Bible were in Dakota. After the children were taught to read in Dakota, they were given a book with illustrations explained in Dakota and English. The correspondent reported,

Mr. Riggs is of the opinion that first teaching the children to read and write in their own language enables them to master English with more ease when they take up that study; and he thinks, also, that a child beginning a four years' course with the study of Dakota would be further advanced in English at the end of the term than one who had not been instructed in Dakota. (*Report*, 1880, p. 77)

Dr. Alden testified to the Board of Indian Commissioners,

Our missionaries feel very decidedly on this point, and that is as to their work in the teaching of English. They believe that it can be better done by using Dakota also, and that it will be done by them in their regular educational methods. While it is not true that we teach only English, it is true that by beginning in the Indian tongue and then putting the students into English studies our missionaries say that after three or four years their English is better than it would have been if they had begun entirely with English. So our missionaries say that if this experiment is to be carried out at Hampton and Carlisle, let us have the same opportunity to show at our school at Santee what can be done there. And we think, after so large experience, that the same work can be accomplished at that Santee Agency, and reaching far more in number than can be done by simply transporting them to a distance [to an off-reservation boarding school]. But with the two together we believe that a splendid work will be done both in the way of English education and civilization of the Indian. (*Report*, 1880, p. 98)

Wilson reports that "although considered by many people at the time to be one of the best schools of Indian education, the Santee Normal School received criticism for teaching Indians to read and write in their own language" (1983, p. 27).

Christian missionaries also continued to help preserve Indian languages by researching and publishing dictionaries. A good example is the Catholic Franciscan Fathers' (1910) *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language*. This dictionary was printed at Saint Michael's Indian School on the Navajo Reservation which still educates Navajo children. Dictionaries compiled by missionaries still serve as basic sources of information on Indian languages. The Wycliffe Bible Translators are still very active on a number of reservations and have freely provided help to school bilingual programs.

Despite the feeling by Indians and some missionaries that native languages were worth preserving, the Indian Bureau set out, not only to end Indian languages, but all Indian customs and religions. In 1881 the Sun Dance was banned. However, when John Elk voluntarily left his tribe and tried to vote, the Supreme Court decided in 1884 in *Elk v. Wilkins* that he was not a citizen and ineligible to vote (Prucha, 1975). In 1885, the ban against the Sun Dance was extended to a general policy forbidding traditional Indian religious ceremonies and all customs related to those ceremonies. In 1886, Indian men were ordered to cut their hair short. To back up this policy of cultural genocide, the Indian Bureau set out to break up Indian tribalism through allotment of tribal lands.

Allotment

Deprived of their traditional lands, food supplies and lifestyle, a situation began to emerge where Indians felt the government owed them a living of annuities and rations in return. Many treaties specifically provided for annuities, but only for a transitional period as the Indians were expected to learn to be farmers. However, the marginal quality even for grazing of much reservation land and the lack of desire

among most Indians to become farmers, frustrated the government's attempts to make Indians self sufficient on their reservations. A demoralizing situation of dependency developed on many reservations which continues to this day.

The General Allotment (Dawes) Act was passed in 1887 to end this growing dependency and to destroy the traditional Indian tribal life. The Dawes Act was an attempt to force European values of individualism and private initiative on Indian people who lived and operated under a communal system. Enacted without Indian consent, it granted 160 acres to each family head and 80 acres to single persons over eighteen and orphans under eighteen. Fee patent title was issued to each allottee to be held in trust by the government for 25 years. Indians were given four years to decide what land they wanted; if they did not decide by then, the Secretary of the Interior would decide for them.

Senator Henry L. Dawes from Massachusetts, sponsor of the Act, considered himself a friend of the Indians. In a speech reported in 1883 he wanted to civilize the Indian and also estimated that it had cost "well-nigh a million dollars for every Indian we have exterminated, and many white lives in the process, and yet he has increased in number." Dawes saw the communal way of life and the Indian value of generosity as antithetical to civilization: "The last and the best agency of civilization is to teach a grown up Indian to keep" (Prucha, 1973, p. 29).

All allottees would be given citizenship within twenty-five years. Land left over after allotment was to be sold to the U.S. government with the profits to be used for "education and civilization" and then put up for sale to whites. The Dawes Act reduced tribal holdings from about 140 million acres to 50 million acres. Three goals of the supporters of the Dawes Act were to break up tribal life, to enable Indians to acquire the benefits of civilization, and to protect their remaining land holdings (*Report*, 1976, p. 43).

In actuality, the Dawes Act did not result in the assimilation of Indians as planned. Instead, it made many of them a permanent underclass even more dependent on the federal government. An example of the negative impact of

the Dawes Act is the experience of one family with four middle-aged sons who received allotments fifty miles apart and 100 miles from their 70-year-old grandfather. Geographical isolation prevented the family from providing mutual aid to each other in the traditional way. The marginal quality of much of the allotted Indian land on the Great Plains was made apparent during droughts in the early Nineteenth Century, the Depression years and the 1980's when many white farmers were forced off holdings even larger than 160 acres.

The speed with which a reservation was allotted was directly proportional to how much the land was desired by whites. The desert reservations of Arizona without any then-known mineral resources escaped allotment. The Navajo Reservation was the largest exception, and it actually expanded greatly under executive orders after 1900. The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma were forced into allotment with the passage of the Curtis Act (30 U.S. Stat. 495-503) in 1898. Their self government was replaced by principal chiefs appointed by the President of the United States, and their schools were taken over by the Department of the Interior and transformed into a public school system (Debo, 1970).

With allotment, it was hoped that, as with other citizens, Indian students would attend public schools. In 1904, Indian Commissioner W. A. Jones found that, "Too frequently where contracts are made with [public] school districts the money to be paid by the Government is the main thing sought, and not a sincere desire to benefit the Indian" (p. 44). All Indians were made citizens by act of Congress in 1924, including Indians on reservations which were not allotted. However, in New Mexico and Arizona, Indians were not allowed to vote until after World War II because voters were required to own property.

Indian affairs have usually been a peripheral issue in United States politics. While allotment had the ideological purpose of detribalizing Indians and making them citizens, the real purpose was to open more of the West to white settlement. Another political issue in late Nineteenth

Century America was the continuation of the long war between Catholics and Protestants which spilled over into Indian education.

The Catholic-Protestant Fight

The Catholic Church has had a continuing interest in Indian education from the time of Columbus. Catholic missions were an elaborate attempt to civilize Indians based on feudal ideas. Protestantism, as a break-away religion, has been antagonistic to Catholicism from the beginning. New England school children were taught, "Abhor that arrant Whore of Rome, And all her blasphemies." In the 1840's and 1850's the Know Nothings went so far as to burn Catholic schools. After the Civil War, the American Protective Association (APA) was organized to combat Catholicism in the United States (most of the information for this section comes from Sievers, 1952).

In 1884 Catholic Indian schools received \$62,250 in government funding. With a head start and better organization than the Protestants, by 1889 Catholic Indian schools were receiving \$347,672, almost seventy-five per cent of all contract funds and \$300,000 more than the next largest group, the Presbyterians. The success of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) aroused even more opposition and became an issue in the 1884 presidential election, along with Papal infallibility as established by the Vatican Council of 1869-1870, the success of parochial schools in the cities, and the electoral success of Irish Catholics in some of the nation's largest cities. The backlash to a Presbyterian minister's comment that the Democratic party was the party of "rum, Romanism and rebellion" helped Grover Cleveland get elected president. Four years later with the Republicans back in office, President Benjamin Harrison appointed General Thomas J. Morgan, a Baptist minister, as Indian Commissioner and Dr. Daniel Dorchester, a Methodist preacher, as Superintendent of Indian Schools. Morgan favored for Indians,

A comprehensive system of education, modeled after the American public school system... embracing all persons of school age, compulsory in its demands and uniformly administered. (Sievers, 1952, p. 142)

In an interview in 1889, he further elaborated

I am not sure that it is wise to place any public school entirely in the hands of a religious order... it seems to me it would be far better to take American Catholics with experience in public schools and with normal school training for such places in preference to either jesuits or sisters educated in foreign lands, who speak the English language indifferently, who know nothing by experience or training of public school work, who are not imbued with American ideas. (Sievers, 1952, p. 142)

Morgan's Superintendent of Indian Schools, Dorchester, had published a book *Romanism versus the Public School System* the year before. When Dorchester inspected the federal schools, he dismissed some Catholics while Morgan did the same back in Washington. The government school newspaper at Carlisle, the *Red Man*, supported Morgan's declaration in 1889 that "the public school system has come to be recognized as an essential factor in training of American citizens" (Sievers, 1952, p. 143). Morgan tried to control the course of study and textbooks to be used in mission schools and to send the brightest pupils to the government boarding schools. The Catholics got around Morgan by getting a special Congressional appropriation of \$535,000 earmarked for contract schools.

All relations broke down between the Indian Bureau and the BCIM with the director of the BCIM writing about "the bigoted [Indian] Commissioner and the not much less bigoted President [Harrison]." Morgan stopped direct government relations with the BCIM and forced each Catholic school to negotiate a separate contract. The Catholics brought up Morgan's civil war court martial for perjury, theft and

and forgery. Thus Indian education, as a sidelight of the Protestant-Catholic debate became an issue in the 1892 presidential election which Cleveland won to become the only president ever to serve two non-consecutive terms (Sievers, 1952). While Catholics won a short-term victory, all direct government funding of mission schools was ended in 1900 causing severe financial problems for these schools. However, missionaries won the right to continue to get tribal treaty and trust funds held by the U.S. government if they could get tribal approval.

Early Reform Efforts

Along with his involvement in the religious dispute, Commissioner Morgan sought to remake the Indian school system in the same pattern as the developing U. S. public school system. He had his Superintendent of Indian Schools, Daniel Dorchester, make a two month, 6,000 mile inspection of Indian schools. He filed "the first official comprehensive field report on Indian education." He found incompetent teachers, schools that had never been inspected and poor sanitary conditions (Adams, 1946). Commissioner Morgan made his own inspection the next year. His reforms included a codification of school rules, compulsory attendance, establishment of the merit system (Civil Service) for personnel and standardization of curriculum, textbooks and instruction. Congress passed laws permitting him to enforce school attendance through the withholding of rations and annuities from Indian families who did not send their children to school.

In 1892 the merit system was applied to physicians, school superintendents, teachers and matrons. In 1896 all agency and school employees except the Indian agent were put under Civil Service. While this led to the general improvement in the quality of personnel, Pratt found that it made it more difficult for him to staff Carlisle with the people he wanted. Luther Standing Bear (1928), the former Carlisle student and agency teacher from about 1884 to 1890, complained that the Civil Service examination was not necessary for primary teachers and that his students did better

than the students of white teachers who got all their knowledge from books "but outside of that, they knew nothing." Standing Bear felt,

The Indian children should have been taught how to translate the Sioux tongue into English properly; but the English teachers only taught them the English language, like a bunch of parrots. While they could read all the words placed before them, they did not know the proper use of them; their meaning was a puzzle. (p. 239)

Estelle Brown (1952) took the Civil Service examination around 1901 expecting "to be tested on my fitness to teach children of a savage race to whom the word education was unknown and who were without knowledge of a written language. No such test was given" (p. 48). She had expected questions on tribal history and reservation conditions; she was not even told the tribe she was to teach. In effect, the Civil Service examination, like the Pre-Professional Skills Test, National Teachers Examination and state teacher competency tests of today, was designed, at best, for teachers of mainstream students. This cultural bias excluded many potential Indian teachers as well as some "incompetent" white teachers while letting through teachers with little or no knowledge of Indians and Indian education.

Dorchester's plan was to have students attend day school for the first four years and then attend boarding school for four years. He supported reservation boarding schools while Carlisle's Pratt saw them as only a way to appease Westerners by putting government money into western pockets. Dorchester's reforms also included having the power to enforce student attendance removed from the agent to the Secretary of the Interior in order to provide greater uniformity and prevent abuses. In 1893 school superintendents took over educational duties from Indian agents, and around 1904 the Indian Bureau stopped using army officers for Indian agents and changed the title to superintendent. School

superintendents became principals. However, superintendents were still given the honorary title of Major.

By 1905 the Bureau of Indian Affairs education system had seven supervisors, 118 school superintendents (one Indian), 15 assistant superintendents (one Indian), 64 clerks (18 Indian), 20 doctors (1 Indian), 500 teachers (50 Indian), and 42 kindergarten teachers (1 Indian). Training institutes were held regularly for the teachers (Leupp, 1905).

Teacher Training

Federal travelling inspectors started visiting agencies in 1873, but formal government inspection of schools for other than political purposes was much slower. Indian school supervisors started inservice training in 1890 for teachers, and in 1895 institutes were held in Tacoma, Sioux City and El Reno. In 1901 Estelle Reel, superintendent of Indian Schools, promoted a uniform course of study for Indian schools. The influence of government economics and the educational ideas of Froebel, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Comenius can be seen in the course of study:

The aim of the course is to give the Indian child a knowledge of the English language and to equip him with the ability to become self-supporting as soon as possible...

The value of education must be measured by its contribution to life interests, and it is our purpose to fit the Indian pupil for life.

The child learns to speak the English language through doing the work that must be accomplished in any well regulated home, and, at the same time is being trained in habits of industry, cleanliness and system. He learns to read by telling of his daily interests and work with the chalk on the blackboard. In keeping count of his poultry and in measuring his garden, he becomes familiar with numbers in such a practical way he knows how to use them in daily life, as well as on the blackboard in the schoolroom...

All theoretical and experimental work must be discarded by the [government] farmer. The boy has but a few years to go to school and it is highly necessary that he be taught the practical work necessary to become self-supporting while in school.

Do not attempt much memorization of rules. Where principles are understood, the rule will be of little practical use. All teaching should be of such a nature as will best fit the child to cope with his environment. (Morris, 1954, pp. 99-100)

Golden (1954), based on her Indian school teaching experience, strongly defended "the child using his hands in the learning process, or providing a half-day of useful work to offset the half-day devoted to the formal studies" (p. 209). She stated teachers "had to make their own" course of study before the one put in effect about 1912. The 1915 course of study recommended interest in home reading, creating a love for good literature and adding two new words a day to a child's vocabulary. In 1916 the government schools started using nearby public school courses of study (Morris, 1954). Golden remembered being required to read one "up-to-date" book per year on general education and having to write a report on it. "Promotion and salary increases were based upon the grade thus obtained [on the written report] and upon the quality of work done in the classroom" (p. 209).

Hoxie (1984) documented a change in attitude toward the potential success of Indian education between the last two decades of the Nineteenth Century and the first two decades of the Twentieth Century. Politicians and the public underwent a period of initial optimism, spurred by success stories at Carlisle Indian School, during which they believed that Indians could be completely assimilated. After two decades of actual experience, many were disillusioned. Around 1900, the conclusion was reached by many that Indians, like blacks, would remain a permanent underclass, and based on that assumption, they needed an appropriate vocational, rather than academic, education. However, this lowering of

expectations had little real effect on Indian education because education at Carlisle, Hampton and other Indian schools had always been largely at an elementary level with a vocational, manual labor, emphasis. Missionaries and other educators like Hampton's General Armstrong feared that too much education could lead to religious scepticism as it had done with many whites.

Indian Renaissance

The era of government control sought to save the Indians from vanishing by substituting a policy of cultural genocide for the old policies of removal and actual genocide. Genocide was embodied in the slogan, "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" which in several cases extended to the U.S. Army killing women and children. The new policy was to kill the Indian but save the man. Wrapped in the popular belief that the dominant society represented the pinnacle of civilization, the average American could see no good in Indian culture. But despite the offer of civilization, many Indians stubbornly resisted attempts by the government to control their thinking in the same way it now controlled their lives, and they hung on to their tribal languages and traditions.

The general lowering of educational expectations for Indians had a promising side effect for Indians who had resisted assimilation in that, if they could not be educated to be like whites, maybe it was all right for them to remain Indians. In addition, "The old view that Indian cultures had nothing to offer American society, that the sooner they were destroyed and replaced the better," according to Francis Paul Prucha (1985, p. 58), "gave way little by little to an interest in Indian ways and then to a positive appreciation of Indian art and other contributions." This change in attitude was owing in part to the new scientific outlook that went beyond the ethnocentric view that all cultures were inferior to the dominant culture and in part owing to books like Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor*, first published in 1881, which described the mistreatment of American Indians.

Jackson was interested in Indians when Thomas Henry Tibbles brought Standing Bear and Susette La Flesche (Bright

Eyes) to Boston on a speaking tour to raise money for Indian causes. Tibbles helped Standing Bear win his release from army custody in the 1879 legal battle of *Standing Bear v. Crook* (Tibbles, 1957). Jackson's book has been compared in regard to political effect to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It emphasized broken treaties, stolen land, and the idea that Indians had no legal rights in state courts since they were not citizens.

The new scientific outlook is exemplified by the anthropologist Franz Boas who wrote in 1911,

It is somewhat difficult for us to recognize that the value which we attribute to our own civilization is due to the fact that we participate in this civilization, and that it has been controlling all our actions since the time of our birth; but it is certainly conceivable that there may be other civilizations, based perhaps on different traditions and on a different equilibrium of emotion and reason, which are of no less value than ours, although it may be impossible for us to appreciate their values without having grown up under their influence. (p. 208)

Government officials also exhibited some positive changes. Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs during Theodore Roosevelt's second term, reported to the House of Representatives in 1905 that,

The Indian is a natural warrior, a natural logician, a natural artist. We have room for all three in our highly organized social system. Let us not make the mistake, in the process of absorbing them, of washing out of them whatever is distinctly Indian. Our aboriginal brother brings, as his contribution to the common store of character, a great deal that is admirable and which needs only to be developed along the right line. Our proper work with him is improvement, not transformation. (Prucha, 1985, pp. 58-59)

Leupp's predecessor as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, W.A. Jones, wrote in his 1905 *Annual Report* that Indians were "far superior to thousands of foreign immigrants who annually throng our ports" (p. 30). He felt the number of nonreservation schools was excessive and that,

Some schools industriously taught that all Indian reservations were bad, and pursued a line of instruction and formation of character which it was fondly believed would keep the Indian in the East. Time has shown that such a course could not and did not settle the Indian graduate in the East...

It is a waste of public money to bring the average Indian to an eastern school, educate him for years upon the theory that his reservation home is a hell on earth, when inevitably he must and does return to his home. It is not only a waste of money, but an injustice to the Indian. (p. 32)

The day schools were now seen as "outposts of Indian civilization" by Jones.

At the same time this change of thinking was beginning at the top, George Wharton James could report in 1908,

Again and again when I have visited Indian schools the thoughtful youths and maidens have come to me with complaints about the American history they were compelled to study..."When we read in the United States history of white men fighting to defend their females, their homes, their corn-fields, their towns, and their hunting-grounds, they are always called 'patriots,' and the children are urged to follow the example of these brave, noble, and gallant men. But when Indians--our ancestors, even our own parents--have fought to defend us and our homes, corn-fields, and hunting-grounds they are called vindictive and merciless savages, bloody murderers, and everything else that is vile." (p. 25)

Chapter 5

Mission Schools

Protestant missionaries continued the work of John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew, Jr. and Eleazar Wheelock in the Nineteenth Century. In 1869, the government began the contract school system providing direct support to schools run by missionary groups. President Grant announced his "Peace Policy" to Congress in 1870 saying,

Indian agencies being civil offices, I determine to give all the agencies to such religious denominations as had heretofore established missionaries among the Indians; and perhaps to some other denominations who might undertake work on the same terms. (Sievers, 1952, p. 136)

Grant's purpose in putting missionaries in charge of reservations was to fight corruption within the Indian Bureau. The Catholics, protesting the fact that Protestants got most of the agencies, started the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) in 1874 to work in Washington, D.C., to obtain support for Catholic missions. The BCIM negotiated directly with the Department of the Interior for funding for all Catholic mission schools (See chapter 4, pp. 55-56).

Many different religious groups sent missionaries to the reservations. They competed with each other for Indian souls and with the government for Indian students. Often the missionaries stayed longer and built up more lasting relationships with the Indians than did government employees. The competition is described in the 1890 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*,

It frequently happens that upon setting out to procure a certain number of children to maintain the average the superintendent (non-reservation)... is dismayed upon entering a village to find the field already occupied, and a brisk competition for pupils going on between a superintendent of a Presbyterian Mission School, a priest who is working for a Catholic school, and the local teacher of a day school who is trying to prevent the others from taking children from the village, thereby affecting her interests.... The effect on the Indian mind can only be damaging to the [Indian] service, and always confirms the Indian parent in his opposition to education. This competition for pupils should not be permitted, nor is it at all necessary. There are enough children to fill all the schools now in operation. (Morgan, 1890, p. 300)

Actually the competition was in the interest of the Indians as schools without a monopoly needed to keep their students and parents more contented. The schools of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions are described in more detail below. In addition, the non-denominational Hampton Institute, a boarding school originally founded for Blacks, is described.

The Board of Foreign Missions

From 1837 to 1893 the Presbyterian Church's Board of Foreign Missions (BFM) sent over 450 missionaries to nineteen different tribes. The historian Michael C. Coleman concluded,

With a heavy emphasis on rote learning and recitation the [BFM] schools at their best provided an impressively wide academic curriculum: English, arithmetic, algebra, history, geography, chemistry, botany, physiology, natural philosophy (the sciences), natural history (geology and biology), Latin and Greek, and sometimes—for pragmatic reasons—literacy in tribal languages. (1987, p. 475)

Often missions included a farm for vocational instruction. Examining BFM records, Coleman found students were more interested in the vocational, musical and academic side of the instruction than religious instruction. One missionary noted that students did their best academic work in arithmetic which had its own universal language. In 1861 the school for the Omahas was using for the most advanced students McGuffey's *Fourth Eclectic Reader*, and in 1863 the *Fifth Eclectic Reader* was added (Baerreis, 1963). Francis La Flesche (Omaha) wrote in his book *The Middle Five* about attending a BFM mission school for the Omaha tribe. With Alice C. Fletcher he later concluded that,

One great difficulty beset the efforts of the missionary teachers; this was the influence exerted on the native mind by the contradiction between the principles taught as belonging to Christianity and the conduct of most of the white people with whom the Indian came into contact. (Fletcher & La Flesche, 1911, p. 628)

Saint Labre Indian School

The history of Saint Labre Indian School on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana illustrates the history of Catholic mission schools. While many Indian mission schools have ceased operation, Saint Labre Indian School is an example of a Catholic mission school that continues operation today. Over the years the original Saint Labre Mission opened other schools on the Cheyenne and Crow Reservations at Birney, Busby, Saint Xavier and Pryor, and several of these continue as elementary schools. One of those remaining is at Saint Xavier.

The boarding school at Saint Xavier on the Crow Reservation was operated from 1887 till 1921 when it was converted to a day school. The Ursuline sisters took "charge of poor debased Crow girls" in order to take them away from a "beastly life and raise them up to the path of virtue and civilization" (Watembach, 1983, p. 9). The Catholic missions were built on a feudal model. Father Barcelo wrote in 1880,

From the very beginning, I declared to them that I could not teach them properly, if they were to be all the time roaming about, that it was necessary for them to settle themselves in a fixed place, and there to cultivate the ground, to build a large and nice church and to do all the rest for their civilization. (Watembach, 1983, p. 10)

Father Palladino wrote, "A plain common, English education embracing spelling, reading, and writing with the rudiments of Arithmetic is book learning sufficient for our Indians... Our Indians have a deep aversion to real labor" (Watembach, 1983, pp. 12-13).

According to Father Palladino in 1892, one could not educate Indians without Christianity and after Christianity, work and manual labor were most important for civilizing the Indian. From 1885 to 1895 children were not allowed to visit their parents at home. A runaway was whipped and put in a dark room for nine days. The scribe of house diaries at Saint Xavier wrote in 1893 that if the students "had no Crows for parents - how much better would they be" (Watembach, 1983, p. 72). To convert Crows, Catholics had to teach about sin first as there was no need for grace without sin and the traditional Crows had no concept of sin. The Crows resisted the boarding schools and wanted day schools. Many voted with their feet when the Baptists opened day schools on the Crow reservation. While the Jesuits felt day schools were a "farce," they opened them to counteract the Baptists. Catechisms, sermons, Bible stories and hymns were translated into Crow by the Catholics, but not the Bible itself (Watembach, 1983).

The original Saint Labre Mission was founded in 1884 among the Northern Cheyenne only eight years after they had fought Custer nearby at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. George Yoakam, an ex-soldier and Catholic convert, was asked by General Miles to help the Cheyennes obtain land under the Indian Homestead Act of 1875. Four masked cowboys beat Yoakam up for this effort, and the frontier newspaper *The Miles City Daily Journal* applauded the cowboys' efforts. White ranchers were finally bought out by the government so

that the Northern Cheyenne Reservation could be formed by executive order of President McKinley in 1900. It was Yoakam's suggestion that the "Catholic Sisters could do as much for the good of the Cheyennes as a regiment," and in 1884 four Catholic nuns founded a school on the Tongue River supported through a contract with the U.S. Government. It did not entirely lose funding from tribal monies held in trust by the government until the 1940's (most of the information for this section is from Kraman, 1984).

In 1885 a Dutch Jesuit arrived and began learning Cheyenne. He remained until all Jesuits were withdrawn in 1897. While their international outlook made it acceptable for Catholics to learn and use native languages, their attitude towards traditional culture was that it was Satan's (Harrod, 1971). Saint Labre was almost closed in 1892 because of Indian indifference and the Ghost Dance movement. However, when the government started recruiting Cheyenne children for the off-reservation boarding school at Fort Shaw, several hundred miles north in Montana, the Cheyenne decided a Catholic school closer to home was better. In 1897 a white sheepherder was killed near Saint Labre. Cheyennes were accused and jailed. There was a rumor that 500 white cowboys were waiting in Sheridan, Wyoming, ready to "clean up the Indians." The mission priest helped calm the Cheyenne and defuse the situation.

The removal of Northern Cheyenne children from their homes was not without regret. Wooden Leg, a Northern Cheyenne leader, described in his autobiography how he built his house on a hill overlooking the mission so he could see his children during the week as he was allowed to visit them only on Sunday (Marquis, 1931). From 1885 to 1947 the students at Saint Labre only saw their parents on Sunday after Mass and went home only for Christmas vacation.

Over the years, the school suffered from a chronic lack of funds. In 1924 the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions provided a list of 5,000 potential donors, and 1,500 letters were sent out. About 1927, Indian men were invited to wear their traditional costumes as they served in the honor guard in the Corpus Christi procession. This became a reservation

tradition that symbolizes a significant change in attitude towards Cheyenne traditions. The Second Vatican Council (1962-65) further encouraged the use of vernacular languages and a variety of forms of worship that reflected the local cultures of Catholics.

In 1931 a high school was started and the U.S. government insisted that it admit whites. The high school was closed in 1938 for financial reasons. By 1943 there were only 41 students in eight grades. Further north, Holy Family Mission on the Blackfeet Reservation was forced to close in 1940 after the onset of World War II had badly hurt fund raising efforts. In 1947 Father Marion Roessler came to the St. Labre mission. As superintendent, in the words of Sister Carlan Kraman, he:

sent a memo to all the teachers urging them to treat their pupils as the Cheyennes treated their children — with respect for their individuality. It is not the Cheyenne way to force a person to do anything against his/her will. The Cheyennes do not scold or threaten their children nor do they make decisions for them. Many of the teachers complained that the Indian children were undisciplined and according to White culture this was probably true. Father Marion, however, saw the difference and appreciated the way the Cheyennes love and respect their children. (1984, p. 59)

In addition to this change of attitude, the high school was reopened and a bus was purchased which allowed for more day students and, for the first time, made it possible for boarding students to go home on weekends. By 1969 enrollment had climbed to 529 students.

In 1962 a factory was built to provide employment for local Cheyennes and to make plastic figures which were used in a direct mail fund raising campaign. In 1967 the Cheyenne Home for Homeless Children was founded. In 1970 Cheyenne language classes were added to the elementary school. In 1977 new regulations hurt the direct mail fund raising which had come under considerable criticism for spending too much

money on fund raising and too little on Northern Cheyenne children (Burnette & Koster, 1974). In 1978 the school again went contract as simply Labre School -- this time funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under Public Law 93-638. Students were given released time to attend religious classes. However, after 1984 the school stopped contracting and again became a mission school.

James Spear, a Northern Cheyenne, wrote in the school newsletter in 1972:

A mechanized world can rob the unaware man of his vision -- of who he is and where he comes from. But the Indian has found a new self-awareness in the heritage he knows is his own. Today, the Indian speaks for himself, knowing that all America must listen, for all people in this country are bound together in a common destiny...

We are striving for the same goals as other races of people -- to strengthen our social and economic position. In order to do this we must become educated and encourage education for our children... but this does not mean we have to discard our culture. . We need only to follow the example of other Indian tribes and ethnic groups who are educating their children according to their own heritage and culture, while at the same time enabling their children to become educated for whatever role or profession they happen to choose in life. (Kraman, 1984, p. 26)

Several of Sister Kraman's conclusions in her official history of Saint Labre School are interesting. She writes that,

Many of the early missionaries to the Cheyennes found them hard to convert but the simple fact was that they had their own belief in God, their own religion which was integral to their daily life and not restricted to worship on Sundays. (1984, p. 49)

While admitting that the purpose of religious boarding schools was to Christianize by conversion and to civilize, through education, she writes, "But the needs of the Cheyennes who came to Saint Labre became priorities at times even more important than conversion and education" (1984, p. 76). Here she is referring to starvation.

Hampton Institute

While less than the Catholic effort, non-Catholics also remained involved in Indian education. Hampton Institute was started in 1868 by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a Congregationalist minister, as a non-denominational private school for ex-slaves based on an industrial (vocational) model which gave black children a practical "education for life." Students usually spent three years at Hampton (Ahern, 1983). In addition to government funding, private donors supported individual students with scholarships. Booker T. Washington was Hampton's most famous graduate. Armstrong's goal was to instill a Christian work ethic. The academic side of the school was limited since Armstrong believed that too much education would draw students away from both Christianity and hard work. The feeling at the school was, "Religion without other training has brought success, but there has been, so far, no case where training without religion has proved either strong or reliable" (Folsom, 1893, p. 393). Of course, religion meant Christianity.

In 1878 Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt proposed to Armstrong to bring some Indian prisoners of war to Hampton and Armstrong agreed. Both Armstrong and Pratt had commanded Black troops in the army. While Pratt quickly set out to start his own school, the famous Carlisle Industrial School (See chapter 6), Hampton continued to be a contract boarding school for Indians until 1912. Unlike Pratt who wanted his students at Carlisle to melt into the Eastern white population, Armstrong wanted his students to return to their communities and become advocates of Christianity and progress.

In 1893 Cora M. Folsom, the Hampton Indian graduates' correspondent, was able to follow up the lives of 460 former

Hampton students, of which 37 had actually graduated. It was reported that 98 were doing excellently, 219 good, 91 fair, 35 poor and 17 bad. The poor and bad had either resumed traditional tribal ways, "gone back to the blanket," and/or taken to drinking and other vices. Of the successful students, nine had become teachers, nine other school employees, 22 were attending other schools, 15 were missionaries or catechists, and 45 were Indian agency employees, including two physicians. Henry H. Lyman (Sioux) was attending Yale Law School. Annie R. Dawsen (Arickaree) graduated from the State Normal School in Framington, Massachusetts, and was teaching under Alfred Riggs at Santee, Nebraska. Susan La Fleshe (Omaha) had graduated from the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia. Thomas Miles (Sac & Fox Agency) wrote back to Hampton, "I am disgusted with some of the people who have been sent out here to educate the Indians; in some ways the savage can educate them" (Folsom, 1893, p. 232).

Of the 460 students, 163 had voluntarily stayed in school after their initial enrollment had expired, 56 returned for a second term and 70 went to other schools after leaving Hampton. Folsom also reports that ex-students of Hampton often showed more interest in their children's education than their own. Survival itself was a major problem for students who had returned to their tribes; out of 640, in thirteen years 110 had died. The successful returned student had to come to terms with traditional tribal values of hospitality and generosity,

No sooner does a young man, or woman, get a good salary than all his relations, and step-relations and relations-in-law and relations by adoption, immediately spring up in poverty and distress, and are really so needy that it requires a strong heart to turn away from them. Those who have needy families to help or who cannot bear to be called "stingy" and "mean," impoverish themselves, while the absolutely frugal are apt to make enemies and lose a certain amount of influence. There are many who succeed in striking a

happy mean and these must command our respect.
(Folsom, 1893, p. 322)

Bishop Hare of South Dakota wrote a letter of support for the Hampton Institute in which he gave his own explanation for some of the criticism of the Eastern boarding schools,

Indian youth, like white young people, when they come back to their homes from school or college, are apt to have an exaggerated sense of their own importance and want to have their way. They have ideas of their own, and are harder to manage than ignorant Indians: a disagreeable thing to incompetent guides. They know too much to be easily cheated, and they have too much independence to submit to being treated like dogs. To some this is inconvenient. (Folsom, 1893, p. 490)

Other than for a former student who was Sitting Bull's secretary, returned students from Hampton were reported to have resisted the Ghost Dance movement on the Sioux reservation.

Teachers and Students

A teacher on the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon reported in 1862:

Indian children, situated as these are on this reservation, in commencing an education, are placed at a great disadvantage as compared with white children. They are unable to enunciate many of the sounds represented by the letters of the English alphabet, and being ignorant of the meaning of the words which they learn and the sentences they read, the exercises do not naturally possess an equal interest to them as to white children. (Dole, 1863, p. 295)

This teacher also declared that the textbooks he had were for "advanced scholars" and that more elementary ones were needed (p. 296). A Catholic teacher on the Tulalip Reservation

in Washington reported, "My scholars complain that they do not understand what they read in English, and, in order to aid them, I am compiling a Snohomish-English and English-Snohomish Dictionary" and that his students "must become as orphans, that is, they must forget their parents as far as possible in order to abandon the habits of the Indians with less difficulty" (Dole, 1863, p. 406).

Contract mission schools were remembered fondly by some Indian students and bitterly by others. Mary Ground, a Blackfeet, remembered attending Fort Shaw, Saint Peters Mission and the Holy Family Mission, which was built from money donated by the Philadelphia Drexels in the late Nineteenth Century,

You went to school in the morning until 4:00 P.M. in the afternoon. You started with the ABCs, learning to write and speak English at the same time. School was from grade one through grade five. There was no such thing as graduation. A lot of children quit, some to get married, a very few went to college or away to school. Schools were good. You didn't waste time. They took care of the children. You had three good meals a day and a clean place to sleep. I worked in the kitchen and bakery. The children didn't mind working. They would have had to work at home. The boys brought in the wood and the vegetables [sic]. They milked the cows and brought the milk to the girls who strained it. It was churned by hand to make butter. You had to obey. The good students were never punished. If you were bad you were locked up and given bread and water. Your hands were paddled. The girls and boys couldn't play together. The girls' building had a high fence. The boys and girls had to sit on different sides of the church. Boys and girls were always on opposite sides of the room, no mingling at all. Families brought their children to school of their own free will. You could talk Indian, but not much. I had plenty to eat. They were the happiest days of my life. (Parsons, 1979?, p. 9)

Other Blackfeet echo Mary Ground's memories; James Little Dog remembered that he "begged to go to school" (Parsons, 19797, p. 11). Emotions still run high; an award winning Lakota newspaper columnist was recently dropped from a Rapid City, South Dakota, newspaper for his criticism of the Catholic Indian school education he received as a youth.

Charles Eastman

One of the most famous mission school students was Ohiyesa, Dr. Charles A. Eastman (Santee Sioux). In 1872 at age 15, Ohiyesa entered school speaking no English. In 1874 he went to the Santee agency and attended Dr. Alfred L. Riggs' Santee Normal Training School. At the training school he was given books in both English and Dakota to read. His father wrote him encouraging letters in Dakota. He went on to attend Beloit College and graduate from Dartmouth before becoming a medical doctor (Eastman, 1977). He is most famous for his autobiographies describing his transition from "the deep woods to civilization" and his work with the YMCA and Boy Scouts of America. He also spent seven years working on a project to give the Sioux names that fitted the English system, so that their allotments could be recorded and protected.

Eastman became convinced after observing the materialism of late Nineteenth Century America that "Christianity and modern civilization are opposed and irreconcilable and that the spirit of Christianity and of our ancient [Sioux] religion is essentially the same" (Wilson, 1983, p. 87). Eastman (1977) recalled an elder at one of his Bible study meetings remarking,

I have come to the conclusion that this Jesus was an Indian. He was opposed to material acquirement and to great possessions. He was inclined to peace. He was as unpractical as any Indian and set no price upon his labor of love. These are not the principles upon which the white man has founded his civilization. (1977, p. 143)

He went on to note in his autobiography that it appeared that white men were "anxious to pass on their religion to all races of men, but keep very little of it themselves" (p. 193). Bishop Walker of North Dakota declared that,

a converted Indian is generally a truer Christian than the average white man. I speak from practical knowledge. I find they are willing to make sacrifices for their faith that the white man is not. (Folsom, 1893, p. 490)

Eastman married Elaine Goodale shortly after she was appointed the first field supervisor of Indian schools in 1890. She had taught at Hampton and was supervising schools on the Sioux reservation during the tragedy of Wounded Knee.

The intermingling of Christian missionary work and the government effort of civilization through schooling can be seen in Elaine Goodale Eastman's *Christian Century* article "Does Uncle Sam Foster Paganism" in which she attacked John Collier's 1934 directive that "No interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expression will hereafter be tolerated." Writing late in her life after years of work with Indians, she accused him of promoting a "Bastard Religion" (what has become the Native American Church), witchcraft and death ceremonies (Eastman, 1934). John Collier replied in the same issue defending the regulation that forbade compulsory religious exercises in government schools and defended constitutional liberties for Indians.

The End of Contract Mission Schools

Protestant missionaries threw their support behind government schools with their non-denominational religious training and closed most of their mission schools. Catholics, who felt non-denominational religious training was really Protestant religious instruction, fought to keep their schools open. From 1894 to 1900 direct federal funding for contract schools was phased out completely as Congress insisted on enforcing the Constitutional separation between church and state. However, the mission schools won the right in court to

continue to get tribal funds held in trust by the U.S. government. But with the end of direct federal funding, the number of mission schools gradually declined (Prucha, 1979).

The popular novelist Zane Grey characterized the product of the ethnocentric missionary in several of his novels. In his 1915 *The Rainbow Trail*, the sequel to the tremendously popular *Riders of the Purple Sage*, he has the wise trading post proprietor declare that while,

There have been missionaries and other interested fools who have given Indians a white man's education. In all the instances I know of, these educated Indians returned to their tribes, repudiating the white man's knowledge, habits, life, and religion. (p. 57)

In 1925 in *The Vanishing American*, Grey has his character Withers say that missionaries should emphasize sanitary laws and how to farm and raise sheep better rather than religion. A missionary, after telling the students that their parents are doomed to hell, draws aside an Indian girl and tells her to "Love me -- the white man of God!" (p. 171). At the government school in the book, the children's milk and fruit are ~~stolen~~ by government agents and a child is kicked for running across a porch. The missionary is asked, "How can you lie to the Indian, cheat them in money deals, steal their water and land, and expect to convert them to Christianity?" (p. 108). The Indian hero tells the missionary, "We have no desire to get to your heaven... If there is such a paradise as you preach about, all the land will be owned by missionaries" (p. 129). In his 1928 novel *Wild Horse Mesa* Grey described a Navajo girl who had spent nine years in a government school,

The religion of the Indians had been schooled and missionaried out of her. Then when she had advanced as far as possible she was given a choice of becoming a servant or returning to her own people... Her people believed the white education had made her think she was above them. She could no longer accept the

religion of the Indian tribe and she would not believe in the white man's. (pp. 261-262)

In 1928 a government sponsored study of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Meriam Report, found the Indian missionary "only too likely to be a person who, however honest his intentions and earnest his zeal...put most of his energies into non-essentials. One finds him fighting tribal ceremonials without really knowing if they are good or bad" (p. 398). This insistence on cultural as well as religious conversion gave missionaries individual successes such as Charles Eastman, but it prevented them from converting large numbers of Indians who continued to think of Christianity as a foreign religion. For every Thomas Mayhew, Jr. who allowed Indians to be both Christian and Indian, there was a host of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, who insisted that their converts become assimilated into the dominant white culture.

Chapter 6

Government Boarding Schools

Government boarding schools were usually run as military schools because the army was involved with starting them, and they could be run with less staff and, therefore, with less expense. In addition, they ran on a system of one-half day of academic instruction which consisted mainly of elementary level subjects and one-half day of vocational instruction which consisted largely in maintaining the school, including raising food to be eaten by the students.

Albert H. Kneale (1950) remembered monotonous lessons at the turn of the century boarding school where he taught in Oklahoma:

Few of the pupils had any desire to learn to read, for there was nothing to read in their homes nor in the camp; there seemed little incentive to learn English, for there was no opportunity to use it; there seemed to be nothing gained through knowing that "c-a-t" spells cat; arithmetic offered no attraction; not one was interested in knowing the name of the capital of New York. (pp. 52-53)

He reported that students were more interested in the afternoon vocational training.

Richard Henry Pratt

The first off-reservation, government-run boarding school was started by Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt on special Congressionally approved detached duty from the army where he had commanded "colored calvary" in Indian Territory from 1867 to 1875. In 1878 he brought 17 Indian adult prisoners of war from Florida to Hampton Institute, a

boarding school for Black children located in Hampton, Virginia (see Chapter 5 for more information about Hampton Institute). He recruited another 40 boys and 9 girls from Dakota Territory. The children were encouraged to speak English, but were not punished if they did not (Eastman, 1935).

Hampton remained a contract boarding school for Indians until 1912, and Indian students continued to be allowed to help each other using their tribal languages, despite Bureau policy. Encouraged by the success of the students at Hampton but believing Indians should be educated apart from colored students, Pratt set about to start a school exclusively for Indian students. In 1879 after obtaining support from the local community and Congress, Lieutenant Pratt opened the famous Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Pratt's choice of the old army barracks at Carlisle was no accident. There was less prejudice against Indians in the East, and among the Pennsylvania Mennonites and Quakers there was perhaps the greatest tolerance in the nation (Pratt, 1964; Marriott & Rachlin, 1969).

As the school's superintendent, Pratt (1964) saw the purpose of boarding schools for Indians as taking the "Indian" out of his Indian students and was agreeable to intermarriage with whites. In an address before a Baptist group he declared, "In Indian civilization I am a Baptist, because I believe in immersing Indians in our civilization and when we get them under holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked" (p. 335). The school's slogan was "To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay" (p. 283).

Based on interviews with former Carlisle students, Marriott and Rachlin described Pratt as a "rigid disciplinarian," which could be expected from his military background, who "was basically a kind and fair man, with a great human warmth" (1969, p. 193). In 1899, Commissioner of Indian Affairs W.A. Jones memorialized Pratt,

When Pratt began his work, it was understood that unless the Indian youth be educated and assimilated with our population, the tribes would stand as a menace

to the peace of the government and require a large army to keep them within bounds. By his strong individuality and labors he has done as much, or more, to remove the need of an army for this work as any other man ever did, or ever could do. (Eastman, 1935, p. 259)

Pratt's "strong" individualism made him speak out on many issues. He saw the Indian Bureau as having a vested interest in keeping the Indian uncivilized and felt the new Bureau of Ethnology, staffed by anthropologists, encouraged interest in traditional ways that were best forgotten by Indians. He argued with missionaries who, he felt, did not "advocate the disintegration of the tribes and the giving to individual Indians rights and opportunities among civilized people" (Eastman, 1935, p. 113). He also opposed Buffalo Bill Cody's "Wild West" shows because they glorified Indian culture. Pratt told Commissioner Morgan that,

Pandering to the tribe and its socialism as most of our Government and mission plans do is the principle reason why the Indians have not advanced more and are not advancing as rapidly as they ought. (Morgan, 1890, p. 313)

In 1903 he was summarily retired from the army at age 62 by Theodore Roosevelt for disagreeing publicly with the President. In 1904 he was dismissed from his position at Carlisle when he again called for the abolition of the Indian Bureau since its bureaucrats had a vested interest in maintaining the reservation system; they could only keep their jobs if the reservations remained (Eastman, 1935).

In 1913 he wrote a long letter to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells and later sent a copy in 1921 to Commissioner Burke. He wrote:

Every church effort...and all government education except....by a very few non-reservation schools, had the same tendency - to strengthen and build up the tribes,

as such. When the resources of their old nomadic life were passing, they would, with little encouragement, have individually sought and readily entered the activities of our civilized life to obtain a living.... High loyalty to United States citizenship is impossible when loyalty to the tribe predominates. The Bureau itself, when non-reservation schools were beginning to turn out young Indians equal to taking up the responsibilities of American life, began at once the system of persuading and even hiring them to go back to tribal associations. (Eastman, 1935, p. 268)

Carlisle Indian School

Initially there were 136 students at Carlisle. A Sioux, Luther Standing Bear (1928), claimed to be the first Indian boy to enter the Carlisle Indian School grounds. He reported no beds in the dormitories, bread and water for breakfast, and no practical use for the trade he learned one-half day every day. He also complained that he was forced to speak English which made it hard to get along. He remembered "how hard it had been for us to forego the consolation of speech," and he could "never forget the confusion and pain" caused when his teacher made him compete with other students (1933, pp. 16 & 242). Pratt used a student court of older students to maintain discipline. No textbooks were used for the beginners and then Keep's *First Lessons for the Deaf and Dumb* was used (Morris, 1954). Pratt believed in "learning by doing."

Disturbed by the small food allowance provided by the Indian Bureau, Pratt insisted that the students be fed on army rations. Other Indian boarding schools did not benefit from the higher rations that Pratt got for his students at Carlisle. Pratt quickly worked to get proper clothing and beds for his students. Over the next 24 years, Carlisle graduated 158 Indian students and had another 1,060 students who did not graduate (Eastman, 1935). The school provided an elementary education to older Indian students, who usually remained away from their families for three years. Students were placed with area families under the Outing System. The 1887 *Report*

of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, described the Outing System of consisting,

in placing out for a series of months among the families of farmers in that part of Pennsylvania, boys and girls who have had a year or so of training at Carlisle, and can make the most of the advantages thus afforded them for learning practical farming, the use of tools, and thrifty housekeeping. In addition to their board they receive fair wages for their labor -- from \$5 to \$8 per month for farm work -- and as members of the household are admitted to the privileges enjoyed by the sons and daughters of the family. In some cases they remain a year at these places, attending district school in the winter. Such a training upon a farm is the best possible way of fitting them for the ownership and cultivation of the lands which are being allotted them by the Government. This experience, taken in connection with their training and education at school, places them beyond all reasonable doubt upon a footing of self-support. Under this system 299 Carlisle pupils have spent more or less time in private families during the past year. (Atkins, 1887, pp. xvii-xviii)

While Pratt's idea of the "Outing" was to place Indian children in white homes as another son or daughter, it quickly became in the West a way for white families to have cheap servants. Boarding schools like Phoenix Indian School became, in effect, employment agencies for white households with field matrons to monitor the children's performance (Trennert, 1988).

In 1887 Carlisle had an enrollment of 617 students, almost a third of the enrollment of the off-reservation boarding schools. The average age of new students at Carlisle was 15 (Eastman, 1935).

Carlisle became famous for its football team which played the best Eastern colleges under the coaching of Pop Warner. Famous Carlisle athletes included 1912 Olympic Medalists Jim Thorpe (Sauk-Fox) and Louis Tewanima (A

Hopi, Tewanima set a U.S. Olympic record only broken in 1964 by an Oglala Sioux, Billy Mills) and World Series baseball pitcher and major league coach Charles A. Bender (Chippewa).

In the words of the 1885 *Annual Report of the Indian Commissioner to the Secretary of the Interior*, the government's intent was "to free the children from the language and habits of their untutored and often times savage parents." The Secretary of the Interior had optimistically declared two years before that "if a sufficient number of manual labor schools can be established to give each youth the advantages of three to five years of schooling, the next generation will hear nothing of this difficult problem, and we may leave the Indian to himself" (Roessel, 1962, p. 5). Pratt was largely responsible for convincing the government and the American public that Indians could be educated (Szasz, 1977).

The historian Robert M. Utley (1964) concluded that most of the Carlisle students were capable of making their way in Pennsylvania, but in fact they were sent home to their reservations where there were no jobs. Francis E. Leupp, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, painted a dim future for the educated Indian in his 1910 book *The Indian and His Problem*. According to Leupp the Indian doctor, lawyer or missionary was not well accepted in the East or West. Leupp found only the Outing System as admirable in Pratt's educational innovations. Leupp concluded it was better to carry civilization to the Indian rather than carry the Indian to civilization via the off-reservation boarding school. Of course, his final argument was that reservation day schools were cheaper. Carlisle Indian School was closed in 1918 at the beginning of World War I because the facilities were again needed by the army, but in fact it was also closed because Pratt's idea of educating and removing Indians permanently from the West was no longer seen as a workable solution to the Indian problem.

The popular novelist Zane Grey portrayed the "Carlisle Indian" Lo Blandy in his serialized novel *The Vanishing American* in 1922. After he returns home, Lo Blandy is caught between two worlds. His rejection of what he learned at

Carlisle is symbolized by his rejection of Christianity, but neither can he return to his old way of life:

I am an Infidel! I cannot believe in the Indian's God; I will not believe in the white man's God...

The Indian's religion is best for him. The white preacher kills the Indian's simple faith in his own God, makes him an infidel, then tries to make him over. It cannot be done. There is not one real Christian Indian on the reservation. (p. 199)

In one notorious incident Plenty Horses killed Lieutenant Edward Casey in 1891 to cleanse himself from the effects of attending Carlisle (Utley, 1964). Navajos had a simpler way of giving an Enemy Way ceremony to cleanse their children after contact with whites.

Other Government Boarding Schools

After Carlisle showed that off-reservation boarding schools could effectively educate Indian students, twenty-three more schools were funded in the next twenty years. Unlike Carlisle, they were nearer the reservations from which they drew their students. Table 1 gives a list of off-reservation boarding schools started between 1879 and 1905. The problems involved with boarding schools are further described in Chapter 7 in the section on the Meriam Report. Off-reservation boarding schools competed with each other and with reservation boarding and day schools for students. This led to the setting up of attendance boundaries and restrictions about how the various schools could recruit students. In 1894 and 1895 Congress required parental permission to send Indian students out of state to boarding schools. In 1896 this permission was required to be in writing.

Reservation schools became feeder elementary schools for off-reservation boarding schools, and the off-reservation schools that remained open changed from teaching only elementary subjects to teaching only secondary subjects in the Twentieth Century.

Table 1: Location, date of opening, capacity, attendance, etc., of nonreservation boarding schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1905.

Location of School	Date Opened	Num. of Staff	Capacity	Enrollment	Aver. Atten.
Carlisle, PA	1879	90	a1000	948	898
Chemawa, OR (Salem)	1880	52	550	566	435
Chilocco, OK	1884	72	600	866	741
Genoa, NE	1884	31	300	391	302
Albuquerque, NM	1884	30	300	369	344
Lawrence, KS (Haskell)	1884	70	700	1,127	781
Grand Junction, CO	1886	19	200	216	192
Santa Fe, NM	1890	33	300	376	321
Fort Mojave, AZ	1890	22	200	228	210
Carson, NV (Stewart)	1890	25	250	307	272
Pierre, SD	1891	16	150	163	146
Phoenix, AZ	1891	60	700	781	717
Durango, CO	1892	21	300	198	180
Fort Shaw, MT	1892	33	300	329	286
Flandreau, SD (Riggs)	1893	36	350	435	401
Pipestone, MN	1893	16	200	181	162
Mount Pleasant, MI	1893	33	300	361	324
Tomah, WI	1893	25	250	264	225
Wittenberg, WI	b1895	13	100	118	106
Greenville, CA	b1895	9	90	94	75
Morris, MN	1897	19	160	174	165
Chamberlain, SD	1898	19	200	184	169
Fort Bidwell, CA	1898	9	100	79	62
Rapid City, SD	1898	21	250	259	230
Riverside, CA (Sherman)	1902	45	400	722	492
Total		822	8,250	9,736	8,236

a 1,500 with outing pupils

Source: Leupp, 1905, p. 41.

b previously a contract school

While most of the off-reservation boarding schools have closed over the years including Phoenix Indian School in 1989, Chemawa and Sherman Institute remain open as

secondary boarding schools. Haskell Institute became Haskell Indian Junior College in 1970. The reasons why most off-reservation boarding schools closed over the years include their high cost of operation in comparison to day schools, their alleged ineffectiveness, parental opposition, and the growing desire to integrate Indians into the public schools. Indian Commissioner Leupp in his 1907 report to the Secretary of the Interior characterized the off-reservation boarding schools as "educational almshouses." Once Indians parents were jailed or had their rations cut off for not sending their children to these schools. Now, since these schools have Indian school boards that exercise real control, Indian parents lobby to keep the remaining boarding schools open.

Students

A number of students have left accounts of their boarding school experiences. Hoke Denetosie, a Navajo, describing his boarding school experiences at Leupp, Arizona, in the early Twentieth Century, wrote:

Conditions at the school were terrible... Food and other supplies were not too plentiful. We were underfed; so we were constantly hungry. Clothing was not good, and, in winter months, there were epidemics of sickness. Sometimes students died, and the school would close the rest of the term.

It was run in a military fashion, and rules were very strict. A typical day went like this: Early in the morning at 6 o'clock we rose at the sound of bugles. We washed and dressed; then we lined up in military formation and drilled in the yard. For breakfast, companies formed, and we marched to the dining room, where we all stood at attention with long tables before us. We recited grace aloud, and, after being seated, we proceeded with our meal...

Some teachers and other workers weren't very friendly. When students made mistakes they often were slapped or whipped by the disciplinarian who usually carried a piece of rope in his hip pocket.

At the end of the term in May parents and other visitors would come to the school. (Johnson, 1977, pp. 83-85)

Kiowa Apache Jim Whitewolf (1969) recalled that when he started school in 1891 in Oklahoma, he played with blocks while the teacher taught since he could not understand English. He ran away from school three times and was given a choice of punishment: spending all Saturday in chapel or being whipped on the palm of his hand. He remembered a fist fight between a school superintendent and a workman who would not strap a student which led to the superintendent being fired.

Albert Yava, a Hopi, who started school around 1893-94 wrote in his autobiography,

You have to remember that this school business was new not only to the children but also to most of the people in the villages. There had been a big commotion when the Government gave the order that all the children would have to attend school. There was a lot of resistance... The conservatives -- you can call them that or Hostiles -- felt very strongly that the white man was cramming his ways down our throats. Many people felt that the Government was trying to obliterate our culture by making the children attend school. And if you want to be honest about it, the schooling the children have been getting over the past seventy-five or eighty years has educated them to the white man's ways but made them less knowledgeable about the traditional ways of their own people. A lot of what they have been taught is good. It makes them able to understand the way the white man thinks, and to compete in the outside world. But at the same time, they aren't getting as much of their own traditions as they should. Something important is being gained, but something important is being lost.

In the years just before I appeared on the scene, the [Hopi] villages were split down the middle over

whether to allow the children to be sent to the day schools or boarding schools... (1978, p. 10)

The Tenth Calvary was called out during the winter of 1890-91 and again in the summer of 1891 from Fort Wingate near Gallup, New Mexico, to force Hopi parents living in the village of Oraibi to send their children to school. The Oraibi leaders were arrested. In the fall of 1894 troops were called out again, and nineteen Hopi men were sent to Alcatraz Island for one year. Continued opposition led in 1906 to a permanent split. Conservative anti-school families were literally pushed out of Oraibi. They started the new village of Hotevilla (McNitt, 1962). Indian agent Leo Crane (1929) called for troops to search houses for Hopi children as late as 1911.

Another Hopi, Polingaysi Qoyawayma (1964), remembered good times and bad times, feast and famine, bountiful rains and searing droughts. There were times "people clawed through refuse piles looking for kernels of corn they had discarded in more prosperous times" (p. 8). "From earliest childhood she had been taught to pray. Getting up at dawn and going to the mesa's edge to voice one's thankfulness for life and all good was part of the established Hopi pattern" (p. 15). Into this life came H.R. Voth, a Mennonite missionary, who hired her father as a laborer. However, when a schoolhouse was built, her mother got her to hide from Navajo policemen who were gathering up children to enroll in school.

After her sister was caught, Qoyawayma became curious, and she followed her sister to school. She describes unruly students being booted, slapped and one having an eraser shoved in her mouth. Qoyawayma became very cautious and seems to have avoided such punishments. In 1906, when she was fourteen, she met a wagonload of students going to "the land of oranges." Desiring to go, she was disappointed when she learned her parents must first give written permission. She hid in the wagon, was caught, but managed to convince her father to let her go. She rode by wagon to Winslow, Arizona, and then boarded a train to Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, where she spent four years without

returning home. There, "little ones and teenagers attended classes and worked wherever they were assigned" (p. 63). The school had a farm, and food was plentiful.

When she returned home, the poverty of the Hopi land made her heartsick, and she could not return to the old life. She criticized her parents for not buying a white man's bed and table and was unwilling to get married. She tried to turn her parents into white people, and the Hopi elders laughed at her. It was only later she came to realize that her white teachers "had no conception of the true needs of Indian people" (p. 73). Unable to fit in, she took advantage of an opportunity to go live with a missionary in Kansas to further her education. When she returned home again an uncle scolded her,

You proud and stubborn girl! Why are you straying from the Hopi way of life? Don't you know it is not good for a Hopi to be proud? Haven't I told you a Hopi must not pretend to hold himself above his people? Why do you keep trying to be a white man? You are a Hopi. Go Home. Marry in the Hopi way. Have children... Leave these white people who are leading you away from your own beliefs. (p. 90)

Instead she returned to Kansas.

Oraibi was not the only place where Indian parents forcefully opposed their children going to school. In 1892, the Navajo Agent Shipley, described as "profane and given to drinking more heavily than an Indian agent should," took a small party of Navajo policemen to Round Rock to get children for the Fort Defiance Boarding School. He had a quota to meet of thirty-four children from the area. He and a policeman were dragged from a trading post owned by a Navajo, Chee Dodge, and beaten. He was rescued with a broken nose and his party held off their attackers in the trading post until a party of eleven soldiers from Fort Defiance came to the rescue. Shipley returned to Fort Defiance without any children (McNitt, 1962).

Irene Steward (1980), a Navajo born in 1907, recalled travelling on horseback with a policeman to school. She found school "a shocking experience" starting with "a huge bathtub full of water." She "screamed and fought," but had to reconcile herself to "a strange place with strange people, food, clothing. I was homeless. No one cared for me as my old home folks had. I feared everything" (p. 15).

However, she remembered having a kind teacher who taught using colored balls. Later teachers were "mean and strict," and her studies were very hard. She recalled standing and ironing for hours until her "legs ached far into the night... We were too tired to study." But she also missed the fun she had at school. She was warned never to run away; runaways "were spanked, and either locked up in a room or made to walk back and forth in front of the girls' and boys' dormitories. If a boy, he was dressed in girls' clothing; if a girl, in boys' clothing" (p. 18).

Teachers

Indian Service teachers were not required to have a four-year degree until the 1930's. Teachers choosing to work for the relatively low pay and isolation of the Indian Service seemed to either seek adventure or escape. Lucy Gage noted that their "most telling characteristic ... was some physical defect caused by birth, accident or circumstance... Out here [in Oklahoma] they seem to have been able to shake off their shackles to gain both freedom and self-respect". These teachers "were for the most part refined and well-prepared" (McBeth, 1983, p. 97). The autobiographical accounts of turn of the century Indian Service employees recalled mixed experiences, but these employees who wrote tended to portray Indians in a favorable light and often criticized other employees and government policy. Estelle Brown (1952) was told by another employee soon after she started teaching kindergarten at Crow Creek Indian School in South Dakota in 1897 that "there ain't nobody here who could earn a living anywhere else. They're the only kind of people who ever come into this dirty Indian Service" (p. 43). There were only three teachers for 200 students.

Janette Woodruff (1939), hired as a matron, found Crow children in 1900 to be "restrained and orderly and never given to outbursts of any kind" (p. 26). In the schools "Everything was routinized until it moved with the precision of clockwork." She found that to teach the children, "There always had to be a concrete, an objective way of presenting an idea" (p. 65). She observed that teachers who did not demonstrate their lessons found attempts to teach "utterly futile." She felt that non-sectarian religious teaching was "a vital part" of the school training. She reported fellow Indian Service employees fearing an Indian attack in 1903.

Teaching in Oregon in 1901, Gertrude Golden (1954) found that her students "excelled in those subjects which required observation, imitation and memory and were more backward in those demanding reasoning and imagination" (p. 8) while principals and inspectors were more interested in the attractiveness of the bulletin boards than the quality of teaching. She reported that "all to frequently" her fellow employees had no respect for the "lousy Indians" they taught and worked only for the money (p. 10). Transferred to Arizona, Estelle Brown observed "no employee was here because of an interest in Indians and their welfare. We were here to make a living" (p. 153). Teachers with students who sat quietly with shoes shined and noses wiped got good reports sent to Washington.

In one school where Golden worked she found the educated Indian employees segregated from the white staff. The tribes she worked with had a universal aversion to speaking English, "the tongue of their despised conquerors" (pp. 10 & 82). Albert H. Kneale (1950), looking back on a thirty-six year career with the Indian Bureau beginning in 1899, wrote,

Every tribe with which I have associated is imbued with the idea that it is superior to all other peoples. Its members are thoroughly convinced of their superiority not alone over members of all other tribes but over the whites as well... I have never known an Indian who would consent to being changed into a white man even

were he convinced that such a change could readily be accomplished. (p. 105)

Iliff (1954) working with the Hualapais and Havasupais in Arizona reported finding them feeling that Indians were superior to all other races.

When he started teaching in 1899, Kneale found "the Indian Bureau, at that time, went on the assumption that any Indian custom was, per se, objectionable, whereas the customs of whites were the ways of civilization" (p. 41). He found inept Indian agents but not dishonest ones. On being transferred to a school in Oklahoma with "notoriously bad" discipline, Kneale found the windows barred and the doors padlocked to keep students from running away, a then common practice which can still be found in some Bureau schools. A "hard-bitten army sergeant" attempting to restore discipline by force was beaten up by the students and hospitalized. Against advice to maintain the old repressive policies Kneale, through interpreters, got the boys cooperation by organizing them into companies and letting them choose their own officers:

These officers, with myself, formed a group to enact such rules and regulations as it was deemed wise to enforce, to pass judgment on all infractions of these rules and to outline proper punishments for infractions. Every boy in school pledged obedience to the rule of this group.

It worked! (p. 86)

Kneale went on to write that things ran smoothly, but he and his wife did not like the life,

Our every action of every day was prescribed by a bell, and the bell was controlled by a clock--there was the rising bell, the breakfast bell, the work bell, the school bell, the recall bell, the dinner bell, and again the work bell, the school bell, the recall bell, the supper bell, the

night school bell, the retiring bell. It was a drab life. (pp. 89-90)

Many teachers could not adjust to the isolation and cultural differences found on reservations. Estelle Brown replaced a kindergarten teacher in 1897 who took one look at the Crow Creek School and left. While on her way to the school twenty-four miles in an open wagon, her driver told her teaching "Injun brats ... [was] throwin' away good money. All them old Injuns is too lazy to work. They'd rather starve or let the gov'ment feed 'em. Brats grow up the same way" (p. 25). She found her students underfed, forever scrubbing the school, and housed in unheated dormitories. Conditions were harsh, crude and discouraging. Her pay was \$600 a year. She described the Indian Service as the "unloved and unwanted stepchild of Congress."

"Instinctively [she] felt that, in teaching Indian children to like and want the things we liked and wanted, we were headed in the wrong direction." Teaching her students required "unlimited patience" and "a belief in the necessity for recreating primitive children in my own image," a belief she did not acquire during her sixteen years in the Indian Service (p. 42). She found the Indian Service bureaucracy preoccupied with paperwork and staff morals rather than responsive to the first hand advice of their field workers or the Indians they were suppose to serve. "A knowledge of the pupils' home environment was not considered necessary since their education aimed to make that environment unsuitable to them." She never heard any of her fellow employees express an interest in improving reservation conditions. Corporal punishment was discouraged in favor of depriving students of playtime or making them work longer hours.

Golden found that the the Indian Service was a very hierarchical bureaucracy that did not allow much criticism from the lower ranks. When she tried to tell Estelle Reel, the chief supervisor of Indian schools, about her principal, Reel told Golden, "absolute, unquestioned obedience to superior officers is necessary in the Indian service. If Commissioner [of

Indian Affairs] Jones should order me to *black his boots*, I should do so immediately" (1954, p. 50).

Zitkala-Sa (1985), a Sioux teacher, found her white co-workers around 1900 as interested in "self-preservation quite as much as Indian education." When she questioned why an opium-addicted teacher was allowed to continue working she was told it was because she had a "feeble mother" to support. School inspectors from Washington saw special sample work rather than students' everyday work. Golden (1954) teaching in Oklahoma around 1905-6 worked with a staff who were prejudiced against Indians one year and a morphine addicted teacher the next year.

Flora Greg Iliff (1954) who taught from 1900 to 1901 in a small boarding school on the Hualapai Reservation and in a day school on the Havasupai Reservation recalled an old Walapai man counseling Indian ladies who were excited about clothes sent from the East that "the White man gives you what he does not want." She remembered that "when a [new] teacher's attention was diverted, the children made a game of slipping about, exchanging seats or leaping through the nearest window." She violated the English-only rules and used older students for translators in order to teach the younger children. She found that "the duties of too many other positions had been assigned to the teachers to permit efficient work." One of the visiting supervisors of education for Indian schools was able to get the girls a more varied diet and attractive prints for dresses. As the Indians realized "that the boarding school provided good food, warm clothing and comfortable surroundings for the children," they brought their children in willingly.

The best and worst teachers were frequently transferred. Naturally, supervisors tried to get rid of poor personnel who became hard to fire under Civil Service regulations while promotion required being transferred. Kneale felt the frequent change in school personnel hurt the quality of Indian education. Daniel Dorchester wrote:

Frequent changes in the personnel of the Indian Bureau at Washington, at the agencies, and also in the schools is

one of the serious obstacles in the way of systematizing and making effectual the work of Indian school education... It takes not a little time for new comers to gain the confidence of the Indians, old or young; and when gained it is no small loss to sacrifice this confidence. Indeed, frequent changes are the bane of the Indian Service. (Morgan, 1890, pp. 269-70)

This was part of a new attack on the spoils system by the Superintendent of Indian Schools.

The Returned Students

Indian Commissioner T.J. Morgan in his 1890 annual report quoted an "acute observer" who stated there was "little employment for educated Indians, and there is a general prejudice, among both Indian and white employees against the young men who have returned from Eastern schools" (p. 265). For the vast majority of Indians, boarding schools did not erase their Indianness despite the fact "they were taught to despise every custom of their forefathers, including religion, language, songs, dress, ideas, methods of living" (Kneale, 1950, p. 169). A former Indian agent, Kneale wrote in his autobiographer a vivid description of the homecoming of the returned student after five or more years away at boarding school,

The Indian agent would receive notice from a distant school advising that a group of returning students was to reach his railway station on a named date. Many times have I met these young people. Full of life, bubbling over with enthusiasm, they came, wearing their hair in the mode of the moment, dressed in the latest creations — on the girls, high-heeled shoes, silken hose, hats and dresses aping the latest style — the boys with patent leather shoes and silk socks, their clothing modishly cut and carefully pressed, and with hats of the latest design on their heads.

I have seen these girls, when they first cast eyes upon their parents, stare in abject horror, then, as the truth dawned upon them, burst into tears...

With the girls...adjustment came in one of two ways. If their home reservation was located in reasonably close proximity to white settlements, they might seek employment in white homes as cooks, maids, and so forth. Those that failed in this search and those that chose the other alternative ... in the course of a week or ten days appeared ... looking not materially different from girls that had never been absent from the reservation...

Those that succeeded in obtaining employment were not so fortunate... After a year or possibly two, these returned to the reservation pregnant or with a baby in their arms, and again the agency school became a haven from which they gravitated back to their homes as had those following the more direct route. Some may say "Were these girls, then, so immoral?" Surely not. It was that, in their simplicity, they had taken for granted that a promise of marriage meant a wedding and a home. (Kneale, 1950, pp. 170-172)

Golden (1954) wrote that,

Short-sighted people have a great deal to say in condemnation of the "return to the blanket" of the educated Indians, little realizing the hardships which await these youths upon leaving their boarding schools. They are trained for a job which cannot be found. They face competition with the whites as well as race prejudice wherever they go. Further, there is the powerful influence of parents and reservation friends who taunt the returning student with charges that he is aping the dress, manners and customs of his white conquerors. (1954, p. 88)

Kluckhohn and Leighton reported that 95% of Navajo children "went home rather than to white communities, after

leaving school, only to find themselves handicapped for taking part in Navajo life because they did not know the techniques and customs of their own people" (1962, p. 141). However not all the effects of education were necessarily lost on returned students who went "back to the blanket." Unlike the bitter returned student Slim Girl in Oliver La Farge's 1929 Pulitzer Prize winning novel who told Laughing Boy, "If ever they come to take a child of ours to school, kill her" (1971, p. 58), Iliff (1954) recalls a Hualapai girl returned from Carlisle who went back to the tribal way of life under family pressure, but who was then first to enroll her children when a mission day school was started.

Returned students acted as intermediaries between tribal and white society. This was certainly often not a comfortable position, but it was a very necessary one. Vern Dusenberry (1962) studied the Montana Cree and concluded they wanted their children educated in white ways but also to know Cree values:

The young people themselves are caught in a trap. On the one hand, they hear the virtues of the white man's education extolled; on the other they listen to their parents reminding them that they are not and can never be white. (p. 166)

Hopi agent Leo Crane (1929) described his Navajo interpreter as "one of those half-educated, half sullen returned students... a part of the economic system aimed at cheaply teaching grandfather through his unrespected grandson" (p. 98). Ahern (1983), in his study of returned students, concluded that they used their education to become "defenders of community interests" more often than advocates of government policies.

Another result of the large off-reservation boarding school was the breaking down of barriers between Indian tribes. In the words of Colonel Dodge each tribe had,

with vanity not entirely aboriginal, believed in its own infinite superiority, and disdained to learn even a few words of its enemy's language... There were no

intermarriages, no social intercourse, no intermingling of any kind, except that of mortal strife. (1882?, pp. 44-45)

The concentrating of youth from different tribes in boarding schools for years away from their parents and the requirement that they all speak English helped create a pan-Indian movement, an intertribal identity that finally gave Columbus's inaccurate term of "Indian" some semblance of meaning. The fact that the boarding schools were co-educational also led to tribal intermarriage.

James McCarthy's (1985) account of his schooling illustrates the development of an Indian rather than tribal identity. He started mission school in 1900 after a Papago policeman told his folks he had to go to school. He did not remember learning anything during the first year. When he transferred to Phoenix Indian School, he recalled riding "on top of the boxcars" to get there. He ran away, but later entered Santa Fe Indian school which did not have the military organization of most BIA boarding schools. By 1911 he recalled that "like most Indian boys, I had forgotten about my home and family" (p. 42). In the summer he went to Colorado to hoe beets. By 1912 when he was seventeen,

Kids from all the tribes were like brothers... Those who came here to school with me in 1909 forgot about their parents at home in Arizona. Our parents were poor and could not send us money. Sometimes I thought about my parents and felt badly. However, during the six years I was at school, I never wrote them a letter and I never got one from them. (p. 45)

Boarding schools, which had been started to destroy tribal identity, ended up helping to create an Indian identity.

Chapter 7

1924-1944 A New Deal

In his 1925 novel *The Vanishing American* Zane Grey noted that "perhaps ninety-nine out of one hundred students returned to the old life, the hogan and the sheep...[and his heroine] inclined more and more to the conviction that the whole government school and reservation system was wrong" (pp. 178-179). Publication of the book version of *The Vanishing American* was delayed because religious groups were offended by its portrayal of missionaries who raped Indian girls and stole Indian land. Grey was forced to kill off his Navajo hero rather than have him marry the white heroine and to tone down his indictment of missionaries. In the movie version the missionaries were completely eliminated (Grey, 1982). Even in the 1950's twenty-six states still had antimiscegenation laws that made it illegal for whites to marry other races (Beatty, 1951).

Mounting criticism after World War I (1914-1918) forced the government to rethink federal Indian policy. In 1923 a "Council of One Hundred" leading figures was convened by the Secretary of the Interior to recommend changes in Indian Policy. Arthur C. Parker, Seneca author, anthropologist and great-nephew of the Civil War general Ely S. Parker, was elected chairman of the group. Other Indian delegates included the Reverend Sherman Coolidge, Charles Eastman, Thomas L. Sloan, the Reverend Henry Roe Cloud, Dennison Wheelock and Father Philip Gordon. The Council called for adequate school facilities, competent personnel, an increased number of Indian students in public schools, and scholarships for high school and college. Their recommendations also brought about reservation day schools offering a sixth grade education and off reservation boarding schools offering an

eighth grade education (*Report*, 1976). Only John Collier and one other person spoke out against William Jennings Bryan's resolution commending the government's support of missionary activities (Kelly, 1983).

John Collier, *The Early Years*

John Collier spent eleven years in settlement house and community work in New York City. There he met Mabel Granson Dodge at her famous Thursday salons. Later she obtained a divorce and moved to Taos, New Mexico, where she met and later married Taos Pueblo politician Tony Lujan. She encouraged Collier, who had moved to California, to visit her and become involved in the Pueblo Indians' struggle for land and water rights. When he finally came in December, 1921, he attended the Taos Red Deer Dance. He found in the dance and the Taos Indians a power for living that,

If our modern world should be able to recapture... the earth's natural resources and web of life would not be irrevocably wasted within the twentieth century which is the prospect now. True democracy, founded in neighborhoods and reaching over the world, would become the realized heaven on earth... [Modern society has] lost that passion and reverence for human personality and for the web of life and the earth which the American Indians have tended as a central sacred fire. (1947, pp. 16 & 17).

In 1923 Collier, supported by Mabel Dodge Luhan and the General Federation of Women's Clubs' Division of Indian Welfare, organized The American Indian Defense Association and, as its Executive Secretary, authored a series of articles critical of the Indian Bureau. In an introductory heading to a *Current History* article on "America's Treatment of Her Indians," he declared that "the administration of Indian affairs [is] a national disgrace - A policy designed to rob Indians of their property, destroy their culture and eventually exterminate them" (p. 771, emphasis in original). In *Sunset Magazine* he wrote, "The Indian problem embodies a world-

wide problem, whether material civilization -- machinery and the dictates of machinery -- and selfish individualism shall dominate man or whether man shall dominate them, subordinate them and use them," and he contrasted the United States with Canada where "Indians are subjugated, but there is no record of shame" (p. 13).

The Meriam Report

In 1926 Secretary of the Interior, Hubert Work, asked the Institute for Government Research (Brookings Institution) at John Hopkins University to conduct a nonpolitical investigation of Indian affairs in order to prevent a partisan investigation by Collier and other Indian Office critics (Kelly, 1983). The results were published in 1928 as *The Problem of Indian Administration*. Popularly known as the Meriam Report after Louis Meriam who headed the investigation, it condemned the allotment policy and the poor quality of services provided by the BIA, urged protection for Indian property, and recommended Indians be allowed more freedom to manage their own affairs. Dr. W. Carson Ryan, Jr., a prominent figure in the Progressive Education Movement, wrote most of the education section of the Meriam Report with help from Reverend Henry Roe Cloud (Winnebago). Based on the teachings of John Dewey and other Progressive Educators, the Meriam Report pointed out shocking conditions in boarding schools, recommended not sending elementary age children to boarding schools, and urged an increase in the number of day schools. It stated:

The philosophy underlying the establishment of Indian boarding schools, that the way to "civilize" the Indian is to take Indian children, even very young children, as completely as possible away from their home and family life, is at variance with modern views of education and social work, which regard the home and family as essential social institutions from which it is generally undesirable to uproot children. (1928, p. 403)

In 1921, all Indian schools had their appropriations for food and clothing cut twenty-five per cent (Brown, 1952). These cuts were a result of government debts from World War I. This underfunding of Bureau Schools continued throughout the administrations of Presidents Harding and Coolidge. Students at Rice Boarding School in Arizona, an extreme case, were found by a Red Cross investigator to be subsisting on a diet of bread, black coffee and syrup for breakfast with bread and boiled potatoes for dinner and supper and a quarter cup of milk with each meal (Meriam, 1928; Szasz, 1977). In general the Meriam Report found the food in boarding schools to be "deficient in quantity, quality and variety" (p. 11). The poor food made Indian students more susceptible to tuberculosis and trachoma which were endemic in Indian communities and boarding schools. Student labor allowed the government to save even more money educating Indians and the Meriam Report commented, "The question may very properly be raised as to whether much of the work of Indian children in boarding schools would not be prohibited in many states by child labor laws, notably the work in the machine laundries" (p. 13). Students raised crops, worked in dairies, and cleaned their schools.

To quell the growing criticism of the government's Indian policy, President Hoover in 1929 appointed a fellow Quaker and President of the Indian Rights Association, Charles J. Rhoads, to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Rhoads got W. Carson Ryan, Jr. to become Director of Indian Education. Ryan had a three-point program: to develop community schools, to support federal-state contracts to put Indian children in public schools, and to gradually phase out boarding schools. Rhoads and Ryan also sought to increase boarding school budgets, to hire education professionals to administer the education department, and to secure the other reforms recommended in the Meriam Report, including an end to a uniform BIA curriculum that stressed only the cultural values of whites (Szasz, 1977). In 1932 Jennings Wise's book, *The Red Man in the New World Drama*, was sent to Bureau teachers. One teacher on the isolated Havasupai Indian Reservation described it as "a gripping story

of the red man's part in the rise of the world out of the dark ages. It puts the Indians in a much different [positive] light than any story or history I've ever come in contact with" (Knobloch, 1988, p. 44).

While the number of boarding schools decreased from 77 to 65 from 1928 to 1933, the number of students in boarding schools actually increased. Congress resisted closing boarding schools as they represented a significant boost to the economies of the cities where they were located (Szasz, 1977). One of the persistent problems of BIA schools remained, discipline. While the type and severity of discipline varied from school to school depending on its director, flogging and other severe forms of punishment continued at some schools. The Meriam Report found that almost all schools had locked rooms or isolated buildings used as "jails" and in some schools children were forced to "maintain a pathetic degree of quietness" (pp. 329 & 332) which could also be attributed to poor diet.

Indian New Deal

World War I and the Great Depression which began in 1929 caused considerable rethinking about whether the United States was progressing towards a future of wealth and plenty. Some people, including John Collier, in their doubts looked to the close-knit, non-materialistic world of the American Indians for an alternative to what they saw as wrong with modern society.

The American people expressed their dissatisfaction with the way things were going by electing Franklin D. Roosevelt president in 1933. Roosevelt appointed Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior. Collier had met Ickes years before in Chicago and interested him in Indian welfare. Ickes got Collier to be his Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Collier immediately sought to end allotment of Indian lands and to further implement the recommendations of the Meriam Report. The result in 1934 was the Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act which ended allotment of Indian lands and provided for Indian religious freedom, a measure of

tribal self government, and Indian preference in hiring Bureau of Indian Affairs employees.

Polingaysi Qoyawayma (1964), a Hopi teacher, has described the difference that Collier's policies made in her teaching environment. When she first became a first grade teacher, she was nervous, but she felt she at least knew the language her students spoke. However, her supervisors soon reminded her she was forbidden to speak Hopi to her students. In her own mind she questioned her supervisors' directives and the English curriculum she was asked to teach:

What do these white-man stories mean to a Hopi child? What is a "choo-choo" to these little ones who have never seen a train? No! I will not begin with the outside world of which they have no knowledge. I shall begin with the familiar. The everyday things. The things of home and family. (p. 125)

In defiance of her supervisors she continued to substitute familiar Hopi legends, songs and stories for Little Red Riding Hood. She found her students loved these stories translated into English, but parents questioned what she was teaching, saying, "We send them [our children] to school to learn the white man's way, not Hopi. They can learn the Hopi way at home." Despite these complaints she persevered in trying to help her children "blend the best of the Hopi tradition with the best of the white culture, retaining the essence of good, whatever its source." When Collier changed BIA policies, Qoyawayma found "overnight" her teaching methods supported, to the "consternation" of the older teachers.

A study of the Pine Ridge Sioux in the 1940's reported that the new "project method" of progressive education that was being used in schools there was very successful. This was especially so with children who came to school speaking little or no English as the project method was more culturally compatible with the way the Sioux raised their children than traditional American teaching methods. The competition between students fostered by traditional American teaching

methods was difficult for young Sioux children to understand as they were taught at home to work cooperatively and to not outshine their peers (MacGregor, 1964).

In addition to the changes in BIA schools, in 1934 the Johnson-O'Malley (J-O'M) Act was passed authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with states or territories to pay them for providing services to Indians. Since 1891, the BIA had dealt with each school district individually. The J-O'M Act allowed the federal government to pay states for educating Indians in public schools. Originally, this money went into the general operating fund of the school districts and could, in fact, be used to support the education of non-Indian students (NAACP, 1971).

Indian students faced many problems in public schools. In Nevada several communities resisted having Indian students attend public schools (Haglund, 1966). In the words of Szasz (1977, p. 101), "rural teachers who had to conform to the attitudes of the local populace often found it difficult to regard their Indian pupils with even ordinary civility and kindness." In addition, public schools were in financial crisis as a result of the Depression and were dropping health, physical education, shop and other courses that Collier and others thought were basic for Indian students.

Besides the effects of what was called the "Indian New Deal," Indians also benefited from the many other mainstream New Deal employment programs such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Public work projects built many Indian day schools and gave many Indians their first introduction to wage labor which began the creation of a cash economy that lead gradually to the end of reservation trading posts.

In 1936 Willard Beatty replaced W. Carson Ryan as Director of Indian Education for the BIA. Beatty had been president of the Progressive Education Association since 1933. Like Collier, Beatty felt that whites put material values ahead of human values. Under the Collier-Beatty administration, more day schools were built on reservations allowing Indian children to go to school and remain within their home areas.

In addition, some boarding schools were closed. For the first time, anthropologists were employed to improve BIA operations, a few native language textbooks were written, and a greater emphasis was placed on teaching Indian cultures and languages in the classrooms of BIA schools. According to Szasz (1977), Beatty started some of the first bilingual and English as a Second Language training programs in the United States. Beatty's efforts led to the publication by the BIA of Young and Morgan's (n.d.) *The Navaho Language: The Elements of Navaho Grammar with a Dictionary in Two Parts Containing Vocabularies of Navaho and English and the Indian Life Series of bilingual pamphlets*.

Both Beatty and Collier were aware of other countries' educational approaches to aboriginal education, especially Mexico's, and foreign criticism of the United States' treatment of its native population. Summer Institutes were held to give teachers special training in teaching Indian students, and a bimonthly bulletin, *Indian Education*, was started to disseminate Collier's and Beatty's policies and new educational methods. In 1941 Polingaysi Qoyawayma was chosen to demonstrate her teaching methods to other BIA educators at a summer training institute. She had found that her method of educating children starting "from what they already know, not from a totally new, strange field of experience" reduced the chance her students would withdraw into a shell (pp. 151 & 174).

The radical change Collier attempted from the assimilationist goals of the allotment period can be seen in the 1938 introduction to the Civil Service examination for positions in the Indian School Service which stated:

The primary objectives of Indian schools are:

1. To give students an understanding and appreciation of their tribal lore, art, music, and community organization;
2. To teach students, through their own participation in school and local governments, to become constructive citizens of their communities;

3. To aid students in analyzing the economic resources of their reservation and in planning more effective ways of utilizing these resources for the improvement of standards of living;
4. To teach, through actual demonstration, intelligent conservation of natural resources;
5. To give students first-hand experience in livestock management, use of native materials in housing and clothing, in subsistence gardening, cooperative marketing, farm mechanics, and whatever other vocational skills are needed to earn a livelihood in the region.
6. To develop better health habits, improved sanitation, and higher standards of diet with a view to prevention of trachoma, tuberculosis, and infant diseases;
7. To give students an understanding of the social and economic world immediately about them and to aid them in achieving some mastery over their environment;
8. To serve as a community center in meeting the social and economic needs of the community;
9. To provide the training necessary to obtain and hold a job away from the reservation area for those students who desire or need such training. (Beatty, 1951, p. 13)

While new teachers were recruited with the new goals in mind, many old BIA employees resisted the radical changes Collier sought and continued to administer schools and teach the way they had always done. One of these older employees, Albert H. Kneale (1950), who had risen in the Bureau from teacher to agency superintendent and had criticized the regimentation of the old BIA boarding schools, gives an interesting account of Collier's going from one extreme to the other. He wrote, "A new form of education was being catapulted into the reservations. The child must be unrepressed, free from rules, free from plans, unhampered in directing its own development" (p. 376). He found children

unable to get to the new day schools on the Navajo reservation because of muddy roads. The schools had all the modern conveniences without the trained staff to operate them.

With the start of World War II, most of the gains made in Indian education were quickly wiped out as funding was shifted from domestic programs to the war effort. However, education that was lost in the schools owing to funding cuts was more than made up for in the field. More than twenty-four thousand Indians served in the armed forces. The most famous of these were the Navajo code talkers who served in the South Pacific providing a communications code based on their native language which the Japanese could not break. Thousands of other Native Americans, including women, found work in cities. According to Szasz, World War II "given the comparatively short time span of the conflict... affected some tribes more than any other major event in the four centuries of Indian-white relations" (1977, p. 107).

Chapter 8

1944-1969 Termination

At the end of the World War II (1939-1945), there was a renewed call to "set the American Indian free." The argument was made and accepted in a conservative Congress that the Indian Reorganization Act had forced a collectivist system upon the Indians, with bigger doses of paternalism and regimentation and that "tribal control and governmental regulations constantly remind the Indian of his inferior status" (Armstrong, 1945, pp. 49 & 51). The House Select Committee to Investigate Indian Affairs and Conditions criticized community day schools in 1944 saying day school students suffered the,

handicap of having to spend their out of school hours in tepees, in shacks with dirt floors and no windows, in tents, in wickiups, in hogans where English is never spoken...and where there is sometimes an active antagonism or an abysmal indifference to the virtues of education. (Szasz, 1977, p. 109)

The Committee found the answer to this problem to be the old off-reservation boarding schools. The use of Native languages in BIA schools decreased, but was not totally eliminated as under the old policy of the late Nineteenth Century. The 1951 BIA Manual stated,

It is self-evident that the first step in any program of instruction must be to develop in the children the ability to speak, understand, and think in the English language. Every effort shall be made to provide activities and other forms of encouragement for

children to use English in their daily association in the classroom, in the dormitories, and on the playgrounds. However, as language expression is essential to the development of thought, the use of native languages by Indian children *may not be forbidden*. In fact, it has been determined experimentally that the use of teacher-interpreters to clarify English meaning in the early grades greatly speeds up the acquisition of English. (Task Force, 1976, p. 122)

The "final solution" Congress came up with for the Indian problem was to let the Indians become "free" by terminating their reservations. With termination, the federal trust status of the reservation would be ended and the tribe's land and other assets would be divided up and distributed to the tribal members. The standing committees on Indian Affairs were abolished in 1946 and their work transferred to committees on public lands dominated by Westerners. In 1953 House Concurrent Resolution no. 108 was passed declaring it,

the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship. (Prucha, 1986, p. 346)

The same year six termination bills were passed. As part of termination, states were to assume responsibility for the education of all Indian children in public schools. The Menominee had their reservation terminated by Congress in 1954.

However, educated Indians were organizing to defend their rights. In 1944 the National Congress of American Indians was founded. Unlike older organizations such as the Indian Rights Association and the Association on American

Indian Affairs, the National Congress of American Indians was an Indian rather than white run advocacy group. With the help of Indian opposition, the termination policy of the 1950's was judged a failure much faster than the old allotment policy it resembled. Land still owned by the Menominee tribe was put back into federal trust status in 1973. Other terminated tribes such as the Klamath were not so lucky.

Dillion S. Meyer replaced John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He had directed the War Relocation Authority in charge of releasing Japanese from the West Coast that had been interned for the war. Perhaps that is where the idea for another termination program involving the relocation of Indians off reservations and into the cities came from. These relocated Indians often had great difficulty adjusting to urban life and frequently returned home.

Special Navajo Five Year Program

Progress in Indian education had been reversed not just at the congressional level. Because of the disruptions caused by World War II, there were more Indian students out of school in 1946 than in 1928 (Szasz, 1977). The greatest number of students out of school were Navajos. While many tribes had undergone allotment of their reservations in the Nineteenth Century and experienced almost a hundred years of close contact with whites, the Navajo reservation formed a vast isolated exception.

In 1900 it was estimated that only one out of nine school-aged Navajo children was in school. By 1930 an estimated forty-six per cent were attending school, but World War II resulted in nineteen day schools being closed on the reservation. As staff went to war, Navajo assistants took over. The Civil Service Commission temporarily abolished teacher examinations and schools were allowed to hire locally (the information in this section comes primarily from Thompson, 1975).

Eighty-eight per cent of male Navajos screened for service in the military during World War II were classified by the selective service as illiterate; nine per cent had tuberculosis. To get older Navajos in school and to make up

for the lack of reservation schools, a Special Navajo Five Year Program was started in 1946. It solved two major problems of the Bureau of Indian Affairs: The large number of teenage Navajo children who had never attended school and the declining enrollments of off-reservation boarding schools as more Indian children attended public schools.

The special problems of the Navajo program were that, even though many of the students had never been in school, they were teenagers, they needed to learn to speak English to get jobs, they needed both academic and vocational training, and they needed to learn something about the "major culture." The Navajo language was used in the initial years of the program to keep from holding back student's intellectual development until English was learned.

Books were written in Navajo using a special beginners' vocabulary. The first principle of the program was that it was bilingual. Teachers worked under guidelines that stated:

1. Their teaching, so far as possible, should be based on first-hand experiences.
2. Instruction should be individualized by organizing the classroom into smaller flexible groupings.
3. Pupils' misbehavior should be analyzed as to its causes and dealt with by eliminating the causes, not by punishment. (Thompson, 1975, p. 94)

During the first three years of the program, classrooms were limited to 25 students and were staffed by a teacher with experience on the Navajo Reservation and a Navajo-English-speaking teacher aide, called a teacher-interpreter. In addition, Navajo-speaking shop and home economics teachers were employed. The last two years of the program emphasized vocational instruction. Students were taught white ways, but,

The pupils also were taught to keep their deep respect for their parents and their Navajo way of life. They were cautioned, now that they were being given formal schooling, that they should not look down on their

parents and Navajo friends on the reservation who had no such opportunities and who could not speak English. They were taught that their parents, even though many never had been to school a day in their lives, still were well educated and wise in their Navajo culture. The teaching of respect for the Navajo way of life, and regard for parental authority, was important because the staff recognized that any lessening of this esteem for parents was the dangerous beginning of possible destruction of respect for other types of authority. (Thompson, 1975, p. 104)

The program expanded from Sherman Institute to ten more boarding schools, and 50,000 students were served over twelve years. The five-year program was expanded to an eight-year program and was eventually replaced by a full high school program.

In 1949 Thompson had to justify the teaching methods used in Bureau schools to the Navajo Tribal Council when Navajos questioned the type of education their young children were getting. The Navajos wanted their children to get the same type of education as white children. In her justification she described the current state of the BIA's teaching English as a second language:

Once, an entire day was spent with the Navajo Tribal Council explaining the methods used in teaching English to non-English-speaking Navajo beginners. Many Navajos at that time were critical of methods used in federal schools. Teachers provided a variety of first-hand experiences, much of which was in the form of play, to make oral English meaningful to small Navajo-speaking beginners. This did not look like good teaching to some Navajos. I used a pictorial chart showing the early experiences and language learning of two children -- one learning in Navajo, the other in English. After sketching the learning experiences of each child to age six, I put the picture of the Navajo child beside the picture of the English-speaking child,

each shown with a speaking vocabulary of 2,000 words, and I simultaneously removed from the mouth of the Navajo child all of the Navajo vocabulary in which he had learned to converse. Then I explained that both children entered school and that the child had to learn to talk in the language of the school — English — but that the English-speaking child was six years ahead of him in English language. I then showed some of the materials and toys which Barbara Henderson, a Navajo who taught at Beclabito, used to help overcome the English language deficit of Navajo beginners; and I explained how she used the materials. "This might seem that she was letting children play," I pointed out, "but she uses the children's play to teach them enough English so that they can begin their primary grade work." (Thompson, 1975, p. 13)

Table 2: Bordertown Dormitory Enrollment

Year	Total	Ages 6-12	Per Cent
1957	1460	515	35
1959	1755	714	41
1961	2332	1064	41
1963	2300	838	36

Source: Thompson, 1975, p. 148

Another way that more room for Navajo students was made was to build dormitories in towns bordering the reservation from which students would attend public schools. Intended for older students, Table 2 shows that, in fact, a large number of younger children were boarded in these dormitories. According to Thompson,

Only six federal schools on the [Navajo] reservation in 1960 were large enough to permit children in accordance with policy to continue through grades 6; 53 provided instruction through grade 3, and 16 could not accommodate children beyond grade 1 or 2. (1975, p. 147)

After Hildegard Thompson ran the Navajo Special Program, she ran all Navajo education programs and then took over from Willard Beatty in Washington, D.C. Beatty resigned in 1952 in frustration when the Bureau was decentralized and he lost direct authority over the BIA's educational system to the Area Directors who reported directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was reorganized in 1949 into eleven area offices located at Juneau, Phoenix, Window Rock, Sacramento, Minneapolis, Billings, Albuquerque, Anadarko, Muskogee, Portland and Aberdeen.

Szasz (1977) marks Thompson's accession to the directorship as the start of a decline in BIA educational programs. With reduced authority, she was forced to compromise more, and Beatty is reported to have remarked that Thompson could "bend farther without breaking than anyone I have ever seen" (Szasz, 1977, p. 124). When she left office in 1965 the decline in BIA educational programs became precipitous. The positions of Commissioner of Indian Affairs (now titled Assistant Secretary of the Department of Interior for Indian Affairs) and Director of the Office of Indian Education Programs became revolving doors with each new appointee staying in office for at most only a few years. The central office curriculum support staff was reduced, and then shifted to a regional center in Albuquerque. Later, with budget cuts, what remained was for all practical purposes eliminated, leaving no real curricular support today for BIA funded schools other than that provided by Chapter 1 and Special Education staff.

The "New Frontier" of Indian Education

When John F. Kennedy became president in 1961, there were still 5,000 Indian and Eskimo children without available

schools. Kennedy set up a task force with W.W. Keeler, a Cherokee Indian and a high official in the Phillips Petroleum Company; Philleo Nash, former Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin; James E. Officor, professor at the University of Arizona; and William Zimmerman, Jr., former Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The task force called for a new independent study of Indian education. Under the Kennedy-Johnson administration, classroom square footage was increased, libraries were added, and a standard list of supplies and equipment was developed. For the first time money for equipment and supplies was provided with new school construction money. New schools were built based on population trends and available water. These site considerations made for large regional schools rather than small community schools.

The original 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Public Law 89-10) which provided funds for disadvantaged students under Title I did not include BIA schools even though funds were allocated to states based partly on Indian student populations. A year later, in 1966, Title I funds were made available to BIA schools. Kindergarten and special education programs became common in the early seventies.

As more and more Indian students attended public schools, Bureau schools more and more served the most isolated children and children from broken or disrupted homes. In 1965, twenty per cent of the children in BIA schools were dropouts or failures from other schools. Another postwar change was a gradual change in emphasis from Collier's interest in maintaining Indian cultures back to the old idea that "English language capability is fundamental to Indian progress" (Thompson, 1975, p. 227). A high school education was also seen as minimal for gaining employment.

School Descriptions

The typical reservation school of the termination era, Bureau, mission or public operated, has been described by Murray L. Wax:

The situation almost appears colonial, or at the least caste-like: between Indian community and schools there is a strong social barrier, typified by the fences which surround the [school] compound. Parents rarely visit the schools; teachers rarely visit the homes; each side finds interaction with the other uncomfortable.

The consequence of this barrier [between the school and the community] is that by the intermediate grades Indian children have begun to develop a closed and solitary [sic] peer society within the walls of the school. (1971, p. 83)

There was a minimum of parental participation in school management at the beginning of the 1960's. Since the 1930's, school boards had existed in some communities, but these boards, where they existed, were selected, not elected. They could only advise and had no real power (Thompson, 1975).

Ralph Nader testified before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education that,

In any school with Indian students, BIA or public, cultural conflict is inevitable. The student, bringing with him all the values, attitudes, and beliefs that constitute his "Indianness," is expected to subordinate that Indianness to the general American standards of the school. The fact that, he, the student, must do all the modifying, all the compromising, seems to say something to him about the relative value of his own culture as opposed to that of the school....

It is estimated that for half of the Indians enrolled in Federal schools English is not the first language learned. Yet, when the child enters school, he is expected to function in a totally English-speaking environment. He muddles along in this educational void until he learns to assign meaning to the sounds the teacher makes. By the time he has begun to learn English, he has already fallen well behind in all the basic skill areas. In fact, it appears that his language handicap

increases as he moves through school. And although it is no longer official BIA policy to discourage use of native languages, many reports in the hearings indicate the contrary in practice. (*Indian Education*, 1969, pp. 47 & 51)

The books used in these schools reflected an all-white middle class culture which had little relation to Indian life. The effect of these books on one Indian child from Cochiti Pueblo has been described by Joseph H. Suina:

The Dick and Jane reading series in the primary grades presented me with pictures of a home with a pitched roof, straight walls, and sidewalks. I could not identify with these from my Pueblo world. However, it was clear I didn't have these things and what I did have did not measure up. At night, long after grandmother went to sleep, I would lay awake staring at our crooked adobe walls casting uneven shadows from the light of the fireplace. The walls were no longer just right for me. My life was no longer just right. I was ashamed of being who I was and I wanted to change right then and there. Somehow it became so important to have straight walls, clean hair and teeth, and a spotted dog to chase after. I even became critical and hateful toward my bony, fleabag of a dog. I loved the familiar and cozy surroundings of my grandmother's house but now I imagined it could be a heck of a lot better if only I had a white man's house with a bed, a nice couch, and a clock. In school books, all the child characters ever did was run around chasing their dog or a kite. They were always happy. As for me, all I seemed to do at home was go back and forth with buckets of water and cut up sticks for a lousy fire. "Didn't the teacher say that drinking coffee would stunt my growth?" "Why couldn't I have nice tall glasses of milk so I could have strong bones and white teeth like those kids in the books?" "Did my

grandmother really care about my well-being?" (1988, p. 298)

Klineberg examined fifteen widely used basal reading textbooks published between 1957 and 1962. He found only one example of a non-white American in them. The white Americans were "almost exclusively North European in origin and appearance" and blond (1963, pp. 75-76). In 1970, the American Indian Historical Society published *Textbooks and the American Indian* criticizing the inaccurate portrayal of Indians in textbooks.

Bright Spots on the Horizon

One bright spot in the otherwise bleak picture for Indian tribes in the termination period was the passage in 1946 of the Federal Indian Claims Commission Act. This act allowed Indians to file claims against the U.S. for lands illegally taken over the years. Millions of dollars have been paid out under this Act; however, there is no way that money can replace land and the traditional way of life that use of that land represented.

The effort to get Indians into public schools, as moved forward by funding provided through the Johnson-O'Malley Act got another boost through Impact Aid. First passed in 1950, P.L. (Public Laws) 874 and 815 authorized funds for public schools in federally impacted areas. These Acts were designed to ensure that children living on tax exempt land such as military bases did not cause a financial burden for public schools. In 1953 the Impact Aid laws were amended to include Indians living or working on reservations or other federal trust land. P.L. 874 provides a large part of the operating expenses of many reservation public schools today while many reservation schools were built using P.L. 815 funds.

There was also some higher education interest in Indian education. In 1959 the Center for Indian Education was established at Arizona State University. The Center began publishing the *Journal of American Indian Education*. Along with the *Journal of Navajo Education* published since about 1981 and the *Canadian Journal of Native Education* published

since 1973, the *Journal of American Indian Education* is among the few journals exclusively devoted to providing information on Indian Education. In 1969 the National Indian Education Association was formed.

Chapter 9

1969-1989 Self-Determination

Over the years through education, involvement with federal programs, and generally increased experience working with white America, Indian tribes were developing a core of leadership capable of telling the federal government what the tribes wanted. This leadership was almost unanimous in opposing termination. The alternative put forward was self-determination; letting Indian people determine their own destiny through their tribal governments.

With the 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown v. the Board of Education*, "separate but equal" schools for Blacks were outlawed. The treatment of all minorities in the United States received increased attention in the 1960's. At the end of the decade there were two major studies of Indian education. The first, the National Study of American Indian Education was carried out from 1967 to 1971 and was directed by Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago. The results of the study were summarized in the 1972 book *To Live on This Earth* by Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst. The second study was by the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education. Testimony from hearings held by this committee fill seven volumes with a 1969 summary report titled *Indian Education: A National Tragedy, a National Challenge*, also known as the Kennedy Report.

Fuchs and Havighurst, based on the National Study of Indian Education, reported that most Indian students and parents approved of their schools, but that Indian community leaders were "overwhelmingly in favor of the school doing something to help Indian students learn about their tribal culture" (pp. 181 & 187), and that the most common parental suggestion was that "schools should pay more attention to the

Indian heritage" (p. 170). Rosalie and Murray Wax's research (1968) on the Pine Ridge Reservation showed that tribal elders and the students' extended families were forces for keeping students in school, and that the forces causing students to drop out of school were those of cultural disintegration, forces similar to those that cause dropouts in all schools.

Edward Kennedy, chairman of the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, wrote in the forward to *Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge* that:

Drop-out rates are twice the national average in both public and Federal schools. Some school districts have dropout rates approaching 100 percent

Achievement levels of Indian children are 2 to 3 years below those of white students; and the Indian child falls progressively further behind the longer he stays in school

Only 1 percent of Indian children in elementary schools have Indian teachers or principals

One-fourth of elementary and secondary school teachers—by their own admission—would prefer *not* to teach Indian children; and

Indian children more than any other minority group, believe themselves to be "below average" in intelligence. (1969, p. ix)

While some of these claims were shown to be exaggerated by Havighurst's study, the actual situation was still intolerable and the Indian Education Act, Title IV of P.L. 92-318, was passed in 1972 to provide funds for special programs for Indian children in reservation schools and, for the first time, urban Indian students. This law, as amended in 1975, required committees of Indian parents to be involved in the planning of these special programs, encouraged the establishment of community-run schools, and stressed culturally relevant and bilingual curriculum materials (Szasz, 1977). In 1974, parent committees were required for Johnson-O'Malley programs.

Indian educators became increasingly active during the 1960's. In 1971 the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards was formed. While the more main stream Indian leadership such as the Coalition testified before congressional committees and lobbied Congress, the more radical young urban Indians followed the lead of the Black Panthers. In 1969 Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay was seized by a group called "Indians of All Tribes" which demanded that the former prison on the island be turned into an Indian cultural and educational center. Three years later the American Indian Movement (AIM) took over the BIA headquarters building in Washington, D.C. Later AIM took over the village of Wounded Knee in South Dakota (Prucha, 1985). On a more local level, AIM organized a number of high school sitins and walkouts with the purpose of getting more classes in Indian culture and history and more Indian involvement in school administration.

In 1973 the U.S. Civil Rights Commission held hearings on the Navajo Reservation which were reported in *The Navajo Nation: An American Colony* (1975). The report concluded:

Regardless of the school system they are in, Navajo students find themselves in an environment controlled and dominated by non-Indians. Most of the teachers and administrators in reservation schools are Anglo [white]. Public school boards of education are dominated by non-Indians and those few Indians who do serve wield little authority. Parent advisory boards are the BIA school equivalent of a board of education; while these are all Indian, their function is only advisory and they are essentially powerless.

Navajos, in fact, have been excluded from the decision-making process in these school systems. The result has been a variety of education policies unrelated to the Navajo community. The Navajo language and culture have been largely ignored in the curriculum offered to Navajo students. (pp. 126-127)

The Commission found that only 188 of 2,800 teachers on the Navajo Reservation were Navajo. A Navajo Arizona public school kindergarten teacher was written up in her teacher evaluation in 1973 for "on several occasions actually having taught 'Navajo Words' over the objection of the school's administration" (p. 205). Arizona law required instruction to be in English. Student witnesses were concerned about biased textbooks. During the 1972-73 academic year, four public school districts on the Navajo Reservation experienced student movements with some AIM involvement. In response to the demands of students and parents, some white school board members, often operators of trading posts, lost their positions and were replaced by Indians. In addition, some white school administrators were replaced by Indians, and more classes in Navajo history, culture and language were offered.

On the whole, the new tribal leadership did not find schools, whether public or BIA, responsive to their demands for greater local control and a local, Indian, curriculum. In 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act (OEO) was passed which authorized programs such as Head Start, Upward Bound, Job Corp and Vista. In 1975 the Indian Self-Determination and Assistance Act (Public Law 93-638) required the BIA to contract as many of its services to tribes as those tribes desired. The purpose of the Act was "to promote maximum Indian participation in the government and education of Indian people" and "to support the right of Indians to control their own educational activities" (*Indian Education*, 1982, p. 120).

Two of the first P.L. 638 contract schools were Rough Rock Demonstration School and Rock Point Community School on the Navajo Reservation in the northeast corner of Arizona. The histories of Rough Rock and Rock Point, only twenty-five miles apart on the map, illustrate some of the similarities and differences of the new contract schools.

Rough Rock Demonstration School

Rough Rock was started in 1966 as a War on Poverty project, a joint effort of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Its mission was to "correct a

hundred years of Native American mis-education" (Collier, Jr., 1988, p. 253). A new school built at Rough Rock was chosen to avoid problems with Civil Service regulations that governed existing BIA employees. Navajo Tribal Chairman, Raymond Nakai, declared:

The Rough Rock Demonstration School is the nation's most unique and exciting experiment in the field of Indian education. It is proving conclusively that Navajo parents do care and are able to provide leadership and control over the education of their children. It is thrilling to witness the involvement of Navajo parents in all aspects of the school and its program. This is what we want for the Navajo People throughout the Reservation. (Collier, Jr., 1988, p. 259)

As the school's first director, Dr. Robert Roessel, Jr., a non-Indian former BIA employee and director of the Center for Indian Education at Arizona State University, was an "essential presence who drew the loosely related Navajo population into a supportive community" (Collier, Jr., 1988). Roessel carried the school through the difficult early years of negotiating with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and then went on to help found Navajo Community College. Dillon Platero, a Navajo, was chosen to replace him. The goals of Rough Rock School were:

1. The school should be an economic center for the community.
2. Children should learn in two languages, Navajo and English, so they could fend successfully in both cultures and see the Navajo way as part of a universal system of values.
3. Navajo children should learn to manage their own survival, and education should be built on extreme individual competence. (Collier, Jr., 1988, p. 261)

The results of the Rough Rock experiment have been impressive, particularly in bringing together the local

community, but the economic impact of schools such as Rough Rock on reservations with high unemployment can overshadow educational concerns. Because school jobs provided the major source of family income in the Rough Rock community, McCarty (1987), not surprisingly, found that the Rough Rock School Board's involvement in academics was minimal; over a third of its members' discussions from 1966 to 1983 involved "personnel issues, specifically the hiring and firing of local people."

Much of the energy of both school board members and administrators was taken up with finding money. Basic contract money often arrived late, and federal grant money varied greatly from year to year. Ethelou Yazzie, Director at Rough Rock after Dillon Platero, testified,

It is June:

The BIA contract is not signed. We have no idea what our budget for fall will be. No teacher is certain that his/her job will be funded. No money has yet arrived to fund the clinic, our arts and crafts co-op is locked. The curriculum center will stay open half-time because there is no money. There is no capital to produce its product, or to train apprentices in writing, editing, and printing. Our summer school is severely limited in its offerings and staff size, relying heavily on volunteers.

This is the way it is at Rough Rock. We expect a crisis a month, and we are never disappointed...

The system is a monumental fake and hoax. It is a political game in which the community or school that refuses to lie down and not die wins just enough to stand up for the next punch. (Task Force, 1976, p. 259)

These problems led to a high annual turnover in teaching staff. An average of half of the Navajo language and culture faculty and a third of the elementary faculty were new each year. In addition, the school had on average a quarter of the students absent on any given day because of the philosophy that the "children belong to their parents, not to the school."

Parents checked students out of school to help with chores and ceremonies at home, and unimproved roads often made it difficult to get them back to school (McCarty, 1987).

Rough Rock relied primarily on non-Navajo proposal writers to seek supplemental funding. A dozen different programs resulted, many with different objectives and funding guidelines, and they were not integrated with each other or the regular program. By 1983, though school leaders still sought ways to remedy these discontinuities, an English basic skills program competed for time on teachers' daily schedules with two bilingual-bicultural programs, both of them very different (McCarty, 1987). Meanwhile, funding for the production of Rough Rock's bilingual-bicultural texts, which were in use in schools throughout the reservation, became increasingly limited. While the school's Navajo Curriculum Center, which has produced a number of fine books, is still in operation, its budget--and its future--remain tenuous.

Rock Point Community School

In contrast to Rough Rock, Rock Point Community School had a more gradual transition to local community control. Dr. Wayne Holm, a non-Navajo married to a Navajo as was Dr. Roessel, worked in the school as a BIA employee and continued as Director and then Assistant Director for Academic Programs until 1986. English-as-a-second-language (ESL) instruction was started at Rock Point in 1960 and bilingual instruction in 1967. In 1972, in order to provide "quality Navajo education through local community control," the community elected a school board. The new school board contracted to operate the school in 1973 so they could have more control over hiring and curriculum. Originally an elementary school, in 1976 one grade a year was added until in 1982 the first high school seniors were graduated.

Forty-three percent of Rock Point students in 1988 were dominant Navajo speakers while only five percent were dominant English speakers. Under the Rock Point bilingual curriculum instituted in 1967, kindergarten students are taught reading in Navajo. In kindergarten two-thirds of the instruction is in Navajo, in grades one through three about

one-half of the instruction is in Navajo, and in grades four through six about one-fourth of the instruction is in Navajo. Students get English reading instruction starting in second grade. The bilingual program at Rock Point has been described as both a coordinate and a maintenance bilingual program. Instruction in the two languages is kept separate but complementary. Instruction is not repeated in each language, but concepts introduced in Navajo are reviewed in English. Some teachers teach only in English and others only in Navajo.

In the primary grades, mathematics is taught first in Navajo, and the specialized English vocabulary is taught later (Rosier & Holm, 1980). Since content area subjects are taught in the early grades in Navajo, Rock Point students are not held back in those subjects until they learn English. The non-textbook, hands-on nature of *Stern mathematics*, emphasizing manipulatives, and *Science: A Process Approach*, emphasizing experiments, made them adaptable to both Navajo and ESL instruction. Concepts learned by students in Navajo transfer and are usable later in either language, and almost all basic reading skills learned in the Navajo reading program transfer into the English reading program [see Thonis (1981) for evidence of the transfer of reading skills from Spanish to English]. Seventh and eighth grade students have one period of Navajo studies plus a quarter of Navajo writing each year. High School students have a half year of Navajo studies plus a quarter of Navajo writing each year.

Another important aspect of the Rock Point bilingual program is that the Navajo portion of the curriculum does not depend on supplemental funding although Title VII bilingual funding was first received in 1971 and other funding has helped out. Navajo language teachers in grades K-12 get paid from the same main contract funds that most English language teachers are paid from. Other federal programs such as Chapter I are also integrated into the regular school program.

In order to get enough Navajo language teachers most of the Rock Point elementary school teachers were hired locally without college degrees. The School Board and adminis-

tration concluded that the only way an isolated Navajo community could get a stable teaching staff would be to hire and train local people. Time has proven this conclusion to be right. An on-site training program brought college-level courses to Rock Point. By 1989, an estimated forty-five Navajos working at Rock Point had earned degrees, and twenty-one teachers out of a teaching staff of fifty had worked at the school ten years or more. Non-degreed teachers are required to take twelve semester credits each year leading towards an appropriate education degree as a condition of their employment contract. All but one of the teachers in the elementary school during the 1988-89 school year were Navajo.

Teachers at Rock Point produced many of their own materials to teach in Navajo. Bernard Spolsky found in 1973 a "good bit" of Navajo language material around, but not enough "to fill out a first grade year of reading" (Spolsky, 1973, p. 31). The Navajo Reading Studies Project which produced a considerable amount of Navajo material for the whole reservation ceased operation and funding for similar projects is no longer available. Although there is now considerably more material, schools still must also rely on materials made by teachers and students.

In 1983 Rock Point students by eighth grade outperformed Navajo students in neighboring public schools, other Navajo speaking students throughout the reservation, and other Arizona Indian students in reading on the California Achievement Test. On the grammar (written English) portion of the test the results were much the same. In mathematics, the Rock Point students did even better, outperforming the comparison groups and approaching and sometimes exceeding national averages (Holm, 1985).

The 1987-88 school year evaluation reported that on average on the English language California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), Rock Point students did equally well as or better than other students in surrounding BIA schools at almost all grade levels in reading, language arts and math while also improving their Navajo language skills. Thus at Rock Point it was found by standardized testing what the Riggsses had found

by observation at the Santee Indian school in the Nineteenth Century, that instruction in the students' native language helped rather than hurt Indian students. In addition to test scores, the success of bilingual education at Rock Point was shown by student attendance rates above 94% for the last eight years and parent conference attendance rates above 80%. Parent involvement at Rock Point is also a high priority. Parent activities included quarterly parent-teacher conferences, a yearly general public meeting held in November, an eight-member elected parent advisory committee that formally observes the school several times a year, school sponsored cultural events and community dinners (Rock Point, 1988).

Community involvement is enhanced by the fact that, unlike surrounding public school districts with arbitrary straight-line boundaries and schools that draw students from multiple communities, Rock Point Community School draws its students from a single community represented by the Rock Point Chapter, a division of the tribal government. The Rock Point Chapter House and the Rock Point Trading Post are all centrally located within the Chapter near the school.

Bernard Spolsky of the University of New Mexico summed up the results of the Rock Point Community School's educational program:

In a community that respects its own language but wishes its children to learn another, a good bilingual program that starts with the bulk of instruction in the child's native language and moves systematically toward the standard language will achieve better results in standard language competence than a program that refuses to recognize the existence of the native language. (Rosier & Holm, 1980, p. vi)

Continued interest among Indians in self-determination is shown by the growth of the number of tribal schools from twelve in 1973 to sixty in 1988. However as McCarty (in press) notes, the problems in curriculum, staffing and program stability are intrinsic to federally funded Indian schools and

are largely the consequence of these schools' necessary reliance on various short term federal contracts and grants which change from year to year in funding level and purpose depending on the current thinking of Washington officials in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Department of Education and Congress.

Objecting to the cumbersome contracting procedure, P.L. 638 schools were allowed by Congress to apply for direct grants in 1988. Despite the problems Rough Rock and other tribally operated schools have had, they have been active forces in community development and the maintenance of tribal culture through the offering of coursework in Indian history and culture. Often they teach tribal languages and have federally funded bilingual programs.

Bilingual Education

In response to pressure by Hispanics and other groups for bilingual education, Congress passed a Bilingual Education Act as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968. This Act was amended in 1978 to specifically include funding for programs for Limited English Speaking (LEP) Indian children. In the case *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court found in 1974 that the historically common practice of "submersing" students in a regular classroom did not give non-English speaking students an equal education opportunity compared with English speaking students as was required by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This case concerned Chinese speaking students in the San Francisco public schools who were given no special educational program even though they spoke no English. An experience shared over the years by many Indian students. The Supreme Court mandated that they get some form of special bilingual or English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction till they could speak English well enough to be put into a regular classroom.

The Bilingual Education Act was extended in amended form in 1984 and currently funds maintenance (described in the Act as developmental), transitional, and immersion (described in the Act as special alternative) bilingual programs. "Maintenance" and "transitional" refer to the long term role

of the first language in the school's educational program whereas "immersion" refers to the way in which the second language is taught. In the United States, immersion programs tend to become specifically designed, English-only, programs for non-English speaking students. All three types of bilingual programs can use various ESL teaching methods for the English language portion of the instructional program.

Maintenance bilingual programs, such as the one at Rock Point, develop children's native as well as English language abilities. Transitional bilingual programs are designed to teach English to language minority students as quickly as possible. While children are taught extensively in their native language during their first year of school, instruction in English is quickly phased in so that by about fourth grade all instruction is in English. Transitional programs do little to promote native language skills. Even though they are the most common form of bilingual programs for Indians in the United States, bilingual researcher Jim Cummins found no educational justification for transitional bilingual programs and that quick exiting of students from transitional programs had negative effects (1981). In immersion bilingual programs, teachers only speak the language to be learned to the children. This type of program has been found to be very effective in teaching French and Spanish to middle-class English speaking students with no long term negative effects on children's skills in using English (Ovando & Collier, 1985).

Whether a child should learn a second language by a maintenance, transitional or immersion bilingual program is dependent on the socio-economic background of the child, the social status of the child's native language, and the language preferences of the child, the parents and the community (Cummins, 1981). Students who come from a middle or upper class background and who are members of the dominant society (language majority students) do well in immersion programs where they hear and are encouraged to speak only the new language in the classroom. However, these programs do not completely replace the home language which is either spoken in the home or is brought back for

instructional purposes after an initial period of all second language instruction (*Studies*, 1984). Indian students, whose families often have below average incomes and who are from a minority group, tend to lose their first language skills in immersion programs.

For Indians, both the old "submersion" that in the words of Luther Standing Bear (1928) taught Indian students to "parrot" English words without comprehension and the new "immersion" often reinforced feelings of inferiority and worthlessness by ignoring the home language and culture of the child. Subtractive educational programs that sought to replace native language and culture with the English language and culture cause minority students to fail while additive educational programs teaching English language and culture in addition to native language and culture created the conditions for students to succeed in their schoolwork. Cummins listed four educational areas that need to be addressed to empower Indian students:

1. Incorporation of the cultural and linguistic background of the student into the school and its curriculum
2. Participation of the community in school activities
3. Use of interactionist teaching methods which emphasize an active role for students
4. School testing programs that recognize linguistic and cultural differences and that search out student strengths rather than being used to track minority students into special education programs (see Cummins, 1986; 1988; 1989).

Cummins (1981) found that exposure to television, schooling, and English-speaking children can get Indian students speaking English fairly well in about two years as can transitional bilingual programs usually found in the first three or four grades. However, those speaking skills are "context-embedded," meaning that the situation that is being talked about is familiar to the student. Cummins found many classroom situations after grade four, especially those

involved with reading textbooks, to be "context-reduced," meaning that all the information must be gained from lectures or textbooks. The academic competence to understand English in a "context-reduced" situation takes an average of five or six years to learn.

Cummins argued that under the old submersion or new transitional bilingual approaches, Indian students often experience so much failure in school that they tend to give up and drop out, never catching up to their white peers. In maintenance bilingual programs such as Rock Point's, ESL instruction is spread over the entire elementary grades and students are given the time needed to gain context-reduced English language skills.

The Rock Point Community School's bilingual program previously described fits well with the research on bilingual education that emerged in the late seventies, and closely resembles the successful California Spanish-English programs described by Krashen and Biber (1988). They found that successful Spanish-English bilingual programs in California shared the following characteristics:

1. High quality subject matter teaching in the first language, without translation.
2. Development of literacy in the first language.
3. Comprehensible input in English. Ideally, comprehensible input in English is provided directly by high quality English as a second language classes, supplemented by comprehensible, or "sheltered" subject matter teaching in English. (p. 25)

Tribal Education Policies

In recent years several tribes have shown their interest in bilingual education and exercised self-determination by passing tribal education policies. The Northern Ute Tribal Business Committee (1985) passed resolution 84-96 in 1984 declaring,

The Ute language is the official language of the Northern Ute Nation and may be used in the business

of government — legislative, executive and judicial — although in deference to, and out of respect to speakers of English, English may be utilized in official matters of government.

We declare that the Ute language is a living and vital language that has the ability to match any other in the world for expressiveness and beauty. Our language is capable of lexical expansion into modern conceptual fields such as the field of politics, economics, mathematics and science.

Be it known that the Ute language shall be recognized as our first language, and the English language will be recognized as our second language. We assert that our students are fully capable of developing fluency in our mother tongue and the foreign English language and we further assert that a higher level of Ute mastery results in higher levels of English skills. (p. 16)

The Northern Ute Tribe requires Ute language instruction preschool through twelfth grade, encourages "pre-service training in Ute language theory and methodology for teachers," and requires three credits of inservice training in Ute language for teachers within one year of employment.

In a preface to the 1985 Navajo Tribal Education Policies, Navajo Tribal Chairman Peterson Zah declared "We believe that an excellent education can produce achievement in the basic academic skills and skills required by modern technology and still educate young Navajo citizens in their language, history, government and culture" (p. vii). The Navajo Tribal Education Policies support local control, parental involvement, Indian preference in hiring, and instruction in the Navajo language (pp. 4-9). The code declares:

The Navajo language is an essential element of the life, culture and identity of the Navajo people. The Navajo Nation recognizes the importance of preserving and perpetuating that language to the survival of the Nation. Instruction in the Navajo language shall be made available for all grade levels in all schools serving

the Navajo Nation. Navajo language instruction shall include to the greatest extent practicable: thinking, speaking, comprehension, reading and writing skills and study of the formal grammar of the language. (p. 9)

The Tribal Education Policies also require courses in Navajo history and culture.

The current tribal interest in Indian languages and cultures has not been promoted as a substitute for the study of the English language and the European culture but as a supplement. Anthropologist William Leap could find no tribe that had let native language restoration outrank the importance of teaching English (1982, p. 151). Another anthropologist, Malcolm McFee (1968), pointed out that assimilation is not a one way street to progress and that Native Americans can learn to participate successfully in white society and, at the same time, retain their language and traditional Indian values to become what he has described as the 150% man. This 150% person must be the goal of Indian education.

Historically, Indian education has been mostly subtractive in nature. But when additive elements have existed, as in the work of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., Samson Occom, Alfred L. Riggs, Luther Standing Bear, Polingaysi Qoyawayma, Wayne Holm and many others, Indian education has been more successful. In the short twenty year history of self-determination, Indian people, on the whole, have favored schools that teach their children non-Indian ways without forcing them to forget their Indian ways. The Indian influence in Indian education is increasing, and the battle now is to make sure Indian education never returns to being a one-way, subtractive process of cultural assimilation.

Appendix

American Indians Today

In 1974 there were 170 Alaska Native villages, 258 Indian reservations and Indian trust areas, plus 27 federally recognized tribes with trust areas in Oklahoma (*Federal*, 1974). Little, if any, change has occurred in these figures over the past sixteen years. These reservations are concentrated in the western half of the United States.

The 1980 census showed a total U.S. population of 227 million of whom .7%, one and a half million, were identified as American Indians of whom a little less than half lived in rural areas. About a third of a million American Indians lived on reservations with another hundred thousand living in the historic areas of Oklahoma. Of the adults over 25 years old, 57% had not graduated from high school and 16% had completed less than five years of school. Twenty-seven percent of reservation American Indians over 16 were unemployed, 45% lived below the poverty level, 21% had homes without piped water, and 16% were without electricity (*American Indians*, 1985).

The BIA estimated in 1987 that 48% of the potential Indian labor force living on or adjacent to reservations age 16 and older were unemployed and of those 38% were seeking work. Twenty-six percent were employed and earning over \$7,000 per year (Bureau, p. 1).

The 1980 census reported that about a third of the Indian population, a half million, were enrolled in school, a half million were employed and 76,865 were unemployed, a 13% unemployment rate. It also reported the mean household income for whites as \$21,173 and for American Indians as \$15,418. Although Indians had a lower average household income, they had a higher average household size, 3.3 persons compared to the average white household size of 2.7 persons

(*General Social*, 1984). The *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported 82,672 American Indians enrolled in United States colleges and universities for 1984, the lowest figure for any U.S. minority group reported and a 5.7% decrease from 1982, the first two-year decline in the last eight years. American Indians represent approximately .7 percent of the United States population and .7 percent of the enrollment in higher education (Racial, 1986). In 1988, 93 American Indians received Doctor's Degrees, again the lowest number for any minority group, but up from 36 in 1975 (Mooney, 1989, p. 1; *Summary Report*, 1986, p. 13). The average SAT score for blacks, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans is even lower than the score for Indians.

A hundred thousand Indian children between the ages of five and seventeen lived on reservations of which about a third attended BIA schools. Over 80% of the 15,729 BIA employees are Native American or approximately 2.5% of all employed Native Americans (*American Indians*, 1984). Almost 14,000 American Indians are teachers, librarians, or counsellors representing about 2.7% of the work force whereas 3.5% of the white work force are teachers (*General Social*, 1984).

In 1988 the BIA operated 103 elementary and secondary schools and 9 peripheral (border-town) dormitories. In addition it funded 65 elementary and secondary schools and 5 peripheral dormitories operated by Indian tribes or tribal organizations under contract (Bureau, 1988, p. i). In 1985, these schools had a total of 38,535 students of whom 13,245 were boarded at their schools. The BIA continues to operate two post-secondary schools, Haskell and Southwest Polytechnic Institute, and funds twenty tribally controlled community colleges (Bureau, 1986; *Comprehensive School Report*, 1985). The increase over the years in Indian students attending school in the United States is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Number of Indian children enrolled in school

Year	Total Enrollment
1822	1,100
1839	2,900
1879	13,343
1887	14,333
1900	26,451
1938	65,166
1951	102,322
1959	141,548
1980	501,840

[Sources: Jedediah Morse. (1822). *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*. New Haven: S. Converse; Task Force Five: Indian Education. (1976). *Report on Indian Education: Final Report to the American Indian Policy Review Commission*; S. Lyman Tyler. (1973). *A History of Indian Policy*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs; *Statistics Concerning Indian Children*, Fiscal Years 1956 and 1960. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior; 1980 Census of Population. *General Social and Economic Characteristics: U.S. Summary*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. PC80-1-C1, p. 98. *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*. (1880)., p. xxiv]

Bibliography

- Adams, David Wallace. (1988). Fundamental Considerations: The Deep Meaning of Native American Schooling 1880-1900. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58(1), 1-28.
- Adams, Evelyn C. (1946). *American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Progress*. Morningside Heights, NY: King's Crown.
- Ahenakew, Freda. (1986). Text Based Grammars in Cree Language Education. In Suzanne Weryackwe (Ed.), *Proceedings: Selected Papers & Biographies* (pp. 1-4). Choctaw, OK: Sixth Annual International Native American Language Issues Institute.
- Ahern, Wilbert H. (1983). "The Returned Indians:" Hampton Institute and Its Indian Alumni, 1879-1893. *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 10(4), 101-124.
- American Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts on Identified Reservations and in the Historic Areas of Oklahoma (Excluding Urbanized Areas): 1980 Census of Population*. (1985, November). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. (Subject Report PC80-2-1D, Part 1)
- Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1878*. (1878). Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Armstrong, O. K. (1945, August). Set the American Indians Free! *The Reader's Digest*, 47, 47-52.
- Atkins, J.D.C. (1886). *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1886*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- , (1887). *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1887*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Baerreis, David A. (1963). Forward. In Francis La Flesche, *The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Beatty, Willard. W. (1951). *Education for Cultural Change*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

- Blodgett, Harold. (1935). *Samson Occom*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College.
- Bowden, Henry Warner. (1981). *American Indians and Christian Missions*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Brown, Estelle Aubrey. (1952). *Stubborn Fool: A Narrative*. Caldwell, ID: Caxton.
- Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior. (1988). *Education Directory: Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools, Tribally Controlled Community Colleges, Contract Schools, Agencies, Area Offices, and Central Office*. Washington, DC: Author.
- , (1986). *Education Directory*. Washington, DC: Author.
- , (1987, January). *Indian Service Population and Labor Force Estimates*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Burnette, Robert, & Koster, John. (1974). *The Road to Wounded Knee*. New York: Bantam.
- Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*. (1831). 5 *Peters*, 15-20.
- Churchill, Ward; Hill, Norbert S. Jr.; & Barlow, Mary Jo. (n.d.). An Historical Overview of Twentieth Century Native American Athletics. *The Indian Historian*, 12(4), 22-30.
- Coleman, Michael C. (1987). The Responses of American Indian Children to Presbyterian Schooling in the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis through Missionary Sources. *History of Education Quarterly*, 27(4), 273-497.
- Collier, John. (1923a, August). America's Treatment of Her Indians. *Current History*, 771-778.
- , (1947). *The Indians of the Americas: The Long Hope*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- , (1923b, March). Our Indian Policy. *Sunset Magazine*, 13-15 & 89-93.
- , (1934, August 8). A Reply to Mrs. Eastman. *Christian Century*, 57, 1018-1020.
- Collier, Jr., John. (1988). Survival at Rough Rock: A Historical Overview of Rough Rock Demonstration School. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 19, 253-269.
- Comprehensive BIA School Report*. (1985, Fall). Washington, DC: Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior.
- Crane, Leo. (1929). *Indians of the Enchanted Dessert*. Boston: Little, Brown.

- Crawford, James. (1990). Language Freedom and Restriction: A Historical Approach to the Official English Controversy. In Jon Reyhner (Ed.), *Effective Language Education Practices and Native Language Survival* (Chapter 2, pp. 9-22). Choctaw, OK: Native American Language Issues Institute (NALI).
- Cummins, Jim. (1988). Empowering Indian Students: What Teachers and Parents Can Do. In J. Reyhner (Ed.), *Teaching the Indian Child: A Bilingual Multicultural Approach* (Chapter 20, pp. 301-317). Billings, MT: Eastern Montana College.
- , (1989). *Empowering Minority Students*. Sacramento, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- , (1986). Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56, 18-36.
- , (1981). The Role of Primary Language Development in the Promoting Educational Success for Minority Students. In California State Department of Education. *Schooling and Language Minority Students*. Los Angeles: California State University at Los Angeles.
- Dawes, Henry L. (1883). Solving the Indian Problem. In *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* (pp. 69-70). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [Reprinted in Francis Paul Prucha (Ed.), *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880-1900* on pp. 27-30].
- Debo, Angie. (1970). *A History of the Indians of the United States*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma.
- Dodge, Richard Irving. (1882?). *Our Wild Indians: Thirty-three Years' Personal Experience among the Red Men of the Great West* (Reprinted by Archer House, Inc., New York, 1959).
- Dole, William P. (1863). *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1862*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Dusenberry, Verne. (1962). *The Montana Cree: A Study of Religious Persistence*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Eastman, Charles A. (Ohiyesa). (1915). *The Indian Today: The Past and Future of the First American*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- , (1977). *From the Deep Woods to Civilization: Chapters in the Autobiography of an Indian*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska. (First published in 1916).

- Eastman, Elaine Goodale. (1934, August 8). Does Uncle Sam Foster Paganism. *Christian Century*, 57, 1016-1018.
- , (1935). *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.
- Elk v. Wilkins. (1884, November 3). 112 *U.S. Reports*, 98-99, 102, 109.
- Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas*. (1974). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Fletcher, Alice C., & La Flesche, Francis. (1911). *The Omaha Tribe*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office (Johnson Reprint, 1970).
- Folsom, Cora M. (1893). Record of Returned Indian Students. In *Twenty-two Years' Work at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia* (pp. 317-493). Hampton, VI: Normal School.
- Foreman, Grant. (1938). *Sequoyah*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.
- Franciscan Fathers. (1910). *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language*. St. Michaels, AZ: St. Michael's. (Reprinted in 1968).
- Fuchs, Estelle, & Havighurst, Robert J. (1983). *To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico (First published by Doubleday in 1972).
- Fuess, Caudé M. (1932). *Carl Schurz: Reformer*. New York: Dodd, Mead.
- Garcia, Ricardo L. (1988). The Need for Bilingual/Multicultural Indian Education. In Jon Reyhner (Ed.), *Teaching the Indian Child: A Bilingual/Multicultural Approach* (Chapter 1, pp. 1-9). Billings, MT: Eastern Montana College.
- General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, 1980 Census of Population*. (n.d.). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. (Characteristics of the Population PC80-1-C1, U.S. Summary)
- Golden, Gertrude. (1954). *Red Moon Called Me: Memoirs of a Schoolteacher in the Government Indian Service*, Cecil Dryden (Ed.). San Antonio, TX: Naylor.
- Goodman, Kenneth S.; Shannon, Patrick; Freeman, Yvonne S.; & Murphy, Sharon. L. (1988). *Report Card on Basal Readers*. Kantonah, NY: Richard C. Owen.
- Grey, Loren. (1982). Foreword. In Zane Grey, *The Vanishing American*. New York: Pocket Books.

- Grey, Zane. (1915). *The Rainbow Trail*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- . (1928). *Wild Horse Mesa*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- . (1925). *The Vanishing American*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- . (1922, December). *The Vanishing American*. *The Ladies Home Journal*.
- Haglund, E.A. (1966). *Indian Integration in Nevada Public Schools*. Carson City: State of Nevada Department of Education.
- Harrod, Howard L. (1971). *Mission Among the Blackfeet*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.
- Hirsch, E.D. (1967). *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Holm, Wayne. (1985, February). Community School Charts Achievements. *Indian Affairs*, 108, 2-3.
- . (1989). On the Role of a Navajo Tribal Education Agency in Navajo Education. *Journal of Navajo Education*, VI(3), 38-54.
- Howard, Oliver O. (1907). *My Life and Experiences among our Hostile Indians*. Hartford, CN: A.T. Worthington. (Reprinted by DeCapo, New York, 1972).
- Hoxie, Frederick E. (1984). *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Iliff, Flora Gregg. (1954). *People of the Blue Water*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge* (The Kennedy Report). (1969, November). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Indian Education: America's Unpaid Debt*. (1982). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office (The eighth annual report to the Congress of the United States by the National Advisory Council on Indian Education).
- Jackson, Helen Hunt. (1886). *A Century of Dishonor: A sketch of the United States Governments dealings with some of the Indian Tribes*. Boston: Roberts Brothers (First published in 1881).
- James, George Wharton. (1908). *What the White Race may learn from the Indian*. Chicago: Forbes.
- Johnson, Brodrick H. (Ed.). (1977). *Stories of Traditional Navajo Life and Culture by Twenty-two Navajo Men and Women*. Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College.

- Jones, W. A. (1904). *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1904*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- (1905). *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1905*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Kelly, Lawrence C. (1983). *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico.
- Kidwell, Clara Sue. (1987). Choctaws and Missionaries in Mississippi Before 1830. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 11(2), 51-72.
- King, A. Richard. (1967). *The School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kleinfeld, Judith S. (1979). *Eskimo School on the Adreafsky: A Study in Effective Bicultural Education*. New York: Praeger.
- Klineberg, O. (1963, February 16). Life is fun in a smiling, fair-skinned world. *Saturday Review*, 75-77 & 87.
- Kluckhohn, Clyde. (1962). *Culture and Behavior*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- , & Leighton, Dorothy. (1962). *The Navaho*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday. (First published in 1946)
- Kneale, Albert H. (1950). *Indian Agent*. Caldwell, ID: Caxton.
- Knobloch, Madge. (1988). *Havasupai Years*. Billings, MT: Eastern Montana College.
- Kraman, Sister Carla. (1984). *A Portrait of Saint Labre Indian Mission Through One Hundred Years*. Ashland, MT: Saint Labre Indian Mission.
- Krashen, S., & Biber, D. (1988). *On Course: Bilingual Education's Success in California*. Sacramento, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- La Farge, Oliver. (1971). *Laughing Boy*. New York: New American Library. (First published in 1929)
- La Flesche, Francis. (1962) *The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Lau v. Nichols. (1974). 414 U.S. 563.
- Layman, Martha Elizabeth. (1942). *A History of Indian Education in the United States*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota.

- Leap, W. L. (1982). Roles for the Linguist in Indian Bilingual Education. In Robert St. Clair & William Leap (Eds.), *Language Renewal among American Indian Tribes: Issues, Problems, and Prospects*. Rosslyn, VI: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Leupp, Francis E. (1910). *The Indian and his Problem*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- (1905). *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year Ended June 30, 1905*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- (1906). *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1906*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Linderman, Frank B. (1972). *Pretty Shield: Medicine Woman of the Crow*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska. (First published in 1932 under the title *Red Mother*).
- McAlister, Lyle N. (1984). *Spain & Portugal in the New World 1492-1700*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- McBeth, Sally J. (1983). *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians*. New York: University Press of America.
- McCarthy, James. (1985). *A Papago Traveler: The Memories of James McCarthy*. Tucson: University of Arizona. (ed. by John G. Westover)
- McCarty, T.L. (1987). The Rough Rock Demonstration School: A Case History with Implications for Educational Evaluation. *Human Organization*, 46(2), 103-112.
- (in press). School as Community: The Rough Rock Demonstration. *Harvard Educational Review*.
- McFee, M. (1968). The 150% Man, A Product of Blackfeet Acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 70(6).
- MacGregor, Gordon. (1964). *Warriors Without Weapons: A Study of the Society and Personality Development of the Pine Ridge Sioux*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- McLoughlin, William. (1984). *Cherokees and Missionaries*. New Haven, CN: Yale University.
- McNitt, Frank. (1962). *The Indian Traders*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.
- Marquis, Thomas B. (Interpreter). (1931). *Wooden Leg: A Warrior Who Fought Custer*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

- Marriott, Alice, & Rachlin, Carol K. (1969). *American Epic: The Story of the American Indian*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Melville, Herman. (1971). *The Confidence-Man*. New York: W.W. Norton (First published in 1857).
- Meriam, Lewis (Ed.). (1928). *The Problem of Indian Administration*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.
- Mooney, Carolyn J. (1989, August 2). Affirmative-Action Goals, Coupled With Tiny Number of Minority Ph.D.'s, Set Off Faculty Recruiting Frenzy. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 35(47), A1 & A10-A11.
- Morey, Sylvester M., & Gilliam, Olivia L. (Eds.). (1974). *Respect for Life: The Traditional Upbringing of American Indian Children*. Garden City, NY: Waldorf.
- Morgan, Thomas J. (1890). *Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Morris, Harold White. (1954, June). A History of Indian Education in the United States. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Oregon State College.
- NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. with the cooperation of the Center for Law and Education, Harvard University. (1971). *An Even Chance: A Report on Federal Funds for Indian Children in Public School Districts*. New York: Author.
- Navajo Division of Education. (1985). *Navajo Nation: Educational Policies*. Window Rock, AZ: Navajo Division of Education.
- Northern Ute Tribal Business Committee. (1985). Ute Language Policy. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 9(2).
- Number of Blacks Taking SAT Drops 5 Pct. in 5 Years. (1986, September 3). *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 108.
- O'Donnell, James. (1980). Joseph Brant. In R. David Edmunds (Ed.), *American Indian Leaders* (pp. 21-40). Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Ovando, Carlos, & Collier, Virginia. (1985). *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Parsons, Jackie. (1979?). *The Educational Movement of the Blackfeet Indians 1840-1979*. Browning, MT: Blackfeet Heritage Program.
- Pettitt, George A. (1946). *Primitive Education in North America*. Berkeley: University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

- Pratt, Richard Henry. (1964). *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*. New Haven, CN: Yale. (This was the first publication of Pratt's autobiography)
- Prucha, Francis Paul (Ed.). (1973). *Americanizing the American Indians*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- , (1979). *The Churches and the Indian Schools: 1888-1912*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- , (Ed.) (1975). *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- , (1985). *The Indians in American Society: From the Revolutionary War to the Present*. Berkeley: University of California.
- , (1984). *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- , (1986). *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Abridged Edition). Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Qoyawayma, Polingaysi (Elizabeth Q. White). (1964). *No Turning Back: A Hopi Indian Woman's Struggle to Live in Two Worlds* (as told to Vada F. Carlson). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.
- Racial and ethnic makeup of college and university enrollment. (1986, July 23). *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 25-34.
- Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners. (1880). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office (Eleventh Annual Report for 1879).
- Richardson, James D. (Ed.). (1910). *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Washington: Bureau of National Literature and Art.
- Riggs, Stephen R. (1969). *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux*. Minneapolis, MN: Ross & Haines (First copyright in 1880).
- Rock Point Community School. (1988). Internal Evaluation Report. Rock Point, AZ: Author.
- Roessel, Jr., Robert. (1962). *Handbook for Indian Education*. Los Angeles: Amerindian.
- Ronda, James P. (1981). Generations of Faith: The Christian Indians of Martha's Vineyard. *William and Mary Quarterly*, 38, 369-394.

- Rosier, Paul, & Holm, Wayne. (1980). *Bilingual Education Series: 8; The Rock Point Experience: A Longitudinal Study of a Navajo School Program (Saad Naaki Bee Na'nitin)*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Salisbury, Neal. (1986). Red Puritans: The "Praying Indians" of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot. In R. L. Nichols (Ed.), *The American Indian: Past and Present*, 3rd ed. (pp. 73-88). New York: Alfred A. Knopf (Reprinted from January, 1974, *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3, 27-54).
- Sievers, Harry J. (1952). The Catholic Indian School Issue and the Presidential Election of 1892. *The Catholic Historical Review*, 38(2), 129-155.
- Spindler, George D. (1987). Why have Minority Groups in North America been Disadvantaged by Their Schools? In George D. Spindler (Ed.), *Education and Cultural Process: Anthropological Approaches* (Chapter 11, pp. 160-172). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.
- Spolsky, Bernard. (1978). American Indian Bilingual Education. In Bernard Spolsky & Robert L. Cooper, (Eds.), *Case Studies in Bilingual Education*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- (1973, June). The Development of Navajo Bilingual Education. ERIC Document, ED 094 559.
- Standing Bear, Luther. (1928). *My People the Sioux*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin (Edited by E.A. Brininstool).
- (1933). *Land of the Spotted Eagle*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Standing Bear v. Crook. (1879, May 12). 25 *Federal Cases*, 695, 697, 700-01.
- St. Clair, Robert N. (1982). What Is Language Renewal. In Robert St. Clair & William Leap (Eds.), *Language Renewal Among American Indian Tribes: Issues, Problems, and Prospects*. Rosslyn, VI: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Stewart, Irene. (1980). *A Voice in Her Tribe: A Navajo Woman's Story*. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers No. 17.
- Studies on Immersion Education: A Collection for United States Educators*. (1984). Sacramento: California State Department of Education.
- Suina, Joseph H. (1988). When I Went to School. In Rodney Cocking & Jose P. Mestre (Eds.), *Linguistic and Cultural Influences on Learning Mathematics* (pp. 295-299). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Sullivan, J. O. (1845, December). Editorial. New York: *Morning News*.
- Summary Report 1985 Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities. (1986). Washington, DC: National Academy.
- Swinton, William. (1875). *A Condensed School History of the United States*. New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor (Copyright 1871).
- Szasz, Margaret Connell. (1977). *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928*, 2nd edition. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.
- . (1988). *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.
- Task Force Five: Indian Education. (1976). *Report on Indian Education: Final Report to the American Indian Policy Review Commission*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Thompson, Hildegard. (1975). *The Navajos' Long Walk for Education: A History of Navajo Education*. Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College.
- Thonis, E. W. (1981). Reading Instruction for Language Minority Students. In California State Department of Education. *Schooling and Language Minority Students*. Los Angeles: California State University at Los Angeles.
- Tibbles, Thomas Henry. (1957). *Buckskin and Blanket Days: Memoirs of a Friend of the Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska (Written in 1905).
- Tocqueville, Alexis De. (1966). *Democracy in America*. New York: Harper & Row. (Translated by George Lawrence, First published in French in 1835)
- Trennert, Jr., Robert A. (1988). *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1981-1935*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.
- Triplett, Frank. (1883). *Conquering the Wilderness*. New York: N. D. Thompson.
- United States Commission on Civil Rights. (1975, September). *The Navajo Nation: An American Colony*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Utey, Robert M. (1984). *The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, 1984.
- . (1964). Introduction. In Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*. New Haven, CN: Yale University.

- Vogel, V. J. (1972). *This Country Was Ours: A Documentary History of the American Indian*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Washburn, Wilcomb E. (Ed.). (19). *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*. Westport, CN: Greenwood.
- Watembach, Karen. (1983). *The History of the Catechesis of the Catholic Church on the Crow Reservation*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Montana State University.
- Wax, Murray L. (1971). *Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Wax, Rosalie, & Wax, Murray. (1968). Indian Education for What? In Stuart Levine & Nancy O. Lurie (Eds.), *The American Indian Today* (pp. 257-267). Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Whitewolf, Jim. (1969). *Jim Whitewolf: The Life of a Kiowa Indian* ed. by Charles S. Brant. New York: Dover.
- Wilson, Raymond. (1983). *Ohiyesa - Charles Eastman, Santee Sioux*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- Wise, Jennings C. (1931). *The Red Man in the New World Drama: A Politico-Legal Study with a Pageantry of American Indian History*. Washington, DC: W.F. Roberts.
- Wolcott, Harry F. (1967). *A Kwakiutl Village and School*. Heights, IL: Waveland.
- Woodruff, Janette. (1939). *Indian Oasis*. Caldwell, ID: Caxton.
- Woodward, G. S. (1963). *The Cherokees*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma.
- Worcester v. Georgia. (1832) 6 Peters, 534-36, 558-63.
- Yava, Albert. (1981). *Big Falling Snow: A Tewa-Hopi Indian's life and times and the history and traditions of his people*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico (reprint of 1978 edition).
- Young, Robert W. & William Morgan. (n.d.). *The Navaho Language*. Washington, DC: Education Division, United States Indian Service (Reprinted in 1972 by Deseret Book Company, Salt Lake City).
- Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Bonnin). (1985). *American Indian Stories*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska (First published in 1921).

Index

- Albany Plan, 22
 Alcatraz, 89, 124
 alcohol: ardent spirits, 46;
 drunkenness, 35; whisky, 11
 Algonquian language, 15
 Allotment, 52-54, 104
 American Board: of
 Commissioners for Foreign
 Missions, 29, 34; schools, 35
 American history, biased, 63
 American Indian Movement,
 124-125
 American Protective
 Association, 55
 American Revolution, 23-24
 annuities, 52
 Armstrong, Samuel Chapman
 [Congregationalist], 71
 Articles of Confederation, 22
 Atkins, Indian Commissioner
 J.D.C., 46-49
 Ayer, Frederick, 28
 Baptists, 28-30, 34, 67, 80
 Battle of the Little Big Horn, 42
 BIA Manual, 110
 Bible, 5, 13-15, 19, 36, 67
 Bilingual: Education Act, 132-
 135; education, 132-135;
 program at Rock Point, 128-
 129; at Rough Rock, 128;
 materials, 107, 128, 130
 Blackfeet: 50; Reservation, 69
 Board of Indian Commissioners,
 39-40
 Bordertown Dormitory, 115
 Boston: 14, 62; Tea Party, 23
 Boudinot, Elias [Cherokee], 30
 Brafferton, 21
 Brant, Joseph [Mohawk], 20
*Brown v. the Board of
 Education*, 122
 Bureau of Catholic Indian
 Missions, 55-56, 64, 68
 Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2, 5, 7;
 formation, 36; control of
 education, 42; decline of
 education programs, 116;
 number of Indian employees,
 59, 139 (see also Indian
 Bureau)
 Calhoun, John C., 27
 Carlisle Indian School, 46, 51, 80-
 86; newspaper, 56; athletes, 83-
 84; students, 50
 Catholic mission schools, 55, 56
 Center for Indian Education, 120
Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 31
Cherokee Phoenix, 30-31
 Cherokee: 2, 25; constitution, 30
 education, 29-31; government,
 30; Nation, 28; National
 Council, 34; tribe, 29
 Cheyenne Home for Homeless
 Children, 69
 Cheyenne, tribe, 42
 Chicasaw, tribe, 37
 child-rearing practices, 9-10
 Chippewan language, 28
 Choctaw: Academy, 34-35;
 education, 34-36; tribe, 25, 37
 citizenship, 52, 54
 Civil Rights Act, 132
 Civil Service Commission, 112
 Civil Service, 7, 45, 57-58; ex-
 amination, 7, 107; regulations
 95, 126
 Civil War, destruction of
 Choctaw schools, 36; effect on

- Indians, 38
- Civilization Fund, 27, 34
- Civilization Fund, 27, 44
- class distinctions, 30
- Cleveland, President Grover, 55, 57
- Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, 124
- Cockenoe, 14
- Cody, Buffalo Bill, 81
- Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John, 2-3, 76, 104, 106-108, 112, 117; early years, 101
- community: control, lack of, 118, 124; involvement, 131
- Congregationalists, 14
- Congress, U.S., 24-25
- Connecticut, 22, 30
- Constitution, U.S., 22, 24
- Continental Congress, 20, 26
- contract schools: BIA funding problems, 128, 132; mission funding problems, 56-57, 76-77
- Cornwall Academy, 30
- corporal punishment, 50, 74, 88-89, 94, 104
- Council of One Hundred, 100
- Crawford, Harley, 36
- Cree, 10
- Creek education, 34; nation, 37
- Crow: language, 67; reservation, 66; tribe, 10, 39; mission schools, 66-67; government schools, 92
- Cummins, Jim, 133-135
- Curtis Act, 54
- Custer, General George Armstrong, 45
- Dakota language, 28, 48, 50-51
- Dartmouth College, 20-21, 75
- Dawes, Senator, Henry L., 53-54
- discipline, in schools, 9, 29, 104
- (see also corporal punishment)
- Doolittle, Senator, 37
- Dorchester, Daniel, 55-58
- Eastman, Charles [Santee Sioux], 11, 28, 75-76, 100
- Eastman, Elaine Goodale, 76
- Economic Opportunity Act, 125
- education, philosophy of, 59, 102
- elders, 30
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 117
- Eliot, John, 14-17
- Elk v. Wilkins, 52
- encomienda*, 11
- English as a second language, 107, 114, 132-133, 135
- English Only: movement, 3; BIA rules on, 95
- English: instruction in, 28-29, 39, 47-51, 58, 79, 105, 119 aversion to 92; lang. policy, 3, 47-50
- extinction of Indians, 34, 41
- feudal pattern, 12, 66
- Five Civilized Tribes, 6, 54
- Fort Defiance Board. School, 90
- Franciscans, 12, 52
- Franklin, Benjamin, 21
- French Catholics, 11
- General Allotment Act, 52-54; end of, 104
- General Federation of Women's Clubs, 101
- Georgia, 31-32
- German language, 22
- Ghost Dance, 68
- Golden Spike, 41
- Grant, President Ulysses S., 39-40, 45, 64
- Great Plains, 54
- Grey, Zane, 77, 84, 100
- habeas corpus*, 46

- Hampton Institute, 51
 description of, 71-73; and Pratt, 79-80
 harmony with nature, 29
 Harvard University, 15
 Haskell Indian Jr. College, 87
 Haskell Indian School, 86-87
 Havasupai Reservation, 95
 Hayes, President Rutherford B., 45
 Hebrew, 17
 Holm, Wayne, 128, 137
 Holy Family Mission, 69, 74
 Hopi: students, 88-90
 House Committee on Appropriations, 27
 House Concurrent Resolution No. 108, 111
 House Select Committee, 110
 Howard, General Oliver O., 49
 Hualapai Reservation, 95
 hunting economy, 36
 Impact Aid, 120
Indian Bible, 14-15
 Indian education, failure of, 123
 Indian: assimilation, 80; Bureau, 43; citizenship, 52-54; as natural warrior, 62; described, 12; Education Act, 6, 123; hating, 44; hostages, 45; population, 138; Removal Act, 31; Reorganization Act, 104, 110; reservations, 138; students in school, 139-140; Territory, 37
 Interior Department, Bureau of Indian Affairs put in, 36
 Iroquois Confederacy, 22
 Jackson, Helen Hunt, 61
 Jackson, President Andrew, 31-32
 James, George Wharton, 63
 Jesuits, 9, 12, 68
 Johnson, President Andrew, 38
 Johnson, Sir William, 20
 Johnson, Vice President Richard M., 35
 Johnson-O'Malley: Act, 6, 106, 120, programs, 123.
 Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs W. A., 54, 63, 80
Journal of American Indian Education, 120-121
 Kennedy Report, 6, 122-123
 King James, 13
 Kirkland, Samuel, 26
 Kneale, Albert H., 79, 92-93, 108
 La Flesche, Francis [Omaha], 66
 Lancaster model, 35
 Lancastrian system, 29
 land speculation, 43
Larry P. v. Wilson Riles, 7
 Las Casas, Bartolome de, 11-12
Lau v. Nichols, 132
 Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis E., 62, 84, 87
 Long Island, 18
 Luhan, Mabel Dodge, 101
 manual training, 35-37, 61, 84; in agriculture 13, 37; in industrial schools, 46; in livestock, 108
 Marshall, Chief Justice John, 31-32
 Martha's Vineyard, 15-16
 Massachusetts: Bay Colony, 14; General Assembly, 17
 Mayhew, Thomas, Jr., 15-16, 137
 McCuffey's Readers, 66
 Mennonites, 80, 89
 Meriam Report, 6, 102-104; and missionaries, 78
 merit system, 57

- Methodists, 30, 38
 Meyer, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dillon S., 112
 Michigan, 28
 Minnesota Sioux Uprising, 28
 Mission schools, criticism of, 77-78
 Mississippi, 25, 35
 Mohawk language, 20
 Montauk tribe, 14
 Moor's Indian Charity School, 17, 20
 Moravians, 22, 29-30
 Morgan, Indian Commissioner Thomas J., 55-57
 narcotics: anti-drug education, 46; addicted teachers, 95
 National Congress of American Indians, 111-112
 National Study of American Indian Education, 122
 native ministry, 30
 Navajo: language, 52, 107, 136-137; reading instruction, 129; Reservation, 54, 124-125; Special Five Year Program, 112-114; Tribal Council, 114; Tribal Education Policies, 136-137
 Nesuton, Job, 15
 New Deal, Indian, 104, 106
 New England Confederation, 22
 New England, 15
 New York, 22
 Nez Perce, tribe, 42
 Nipmuc tribe, 15
 Northern Cheyenne; tribe, 43, 68, 70
 Northern Ute tribe, 135-136
Northwest Ordinance, 21
 Oberlin College, 28
 Occom, Samson, 16-20, 137
 Oklahoma, 6; schools in, 33-34, 91, 93
 Oregon, 92
 Outing System: at Carlisle, 82-83; at Phoenix Indian School, 83
 parent involvement, 118, 124
 Parker, Ely S. [Seneca], 39
 Peace Commission, 38, 40
 Peace Policy, 39, 64
 Pettitt, George A., 9
 Philadelphia, 22
 Phoenix Indian School, 83, 99
 Pine Ridge Reservation, 123
 Platero, Dillon, 126
 Pope Paul, 12
 Pratt, Richard Henry, 45, and civil service, 57, and day schools, 58; at Hampton, 71, 79-80; at Carlisle 80-84; dismissal 81
 Praying Towns, 14-15, 20
 Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 34, 65-66
 Presbyterians, 29-30, 65
 Pretty Shield, 10
 Printer, James, 15
 Prucha, Francis Paul, 61
 punishment, student, 9-10 (see also corporal punishment)
 Puritans, 14-15
 Qoyawayma, Polingaysi: as student, 89-90; as teacher, 105, 107
 Quakers, 22, 40-41, 103
 reading, instruction, 19, 28-29, 58, 79
 Reel, Estelle, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 59, 94
 religious: instruction, 13, 71; religious liberty, 76
 Removal, 31-33
 Revolutionary War, 23, 24

- Rhoads, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles, 103
 Ridge, John (Cherokee), 30
 Riggs, Stephen, 28; Alfred L., 50-51
 Rock Point Community School, 4, 125; description, 128-131
 Roessel, Jr., Robert, 126, 128
 Roosevelt, President Franklin, 2, 104
 Roosevelt, President Theodore, 62, 81
 Rough Rock Demonstration School, 4, 125; description, 126-128
 Saint Labre Indian School, description, 66-71
 Saint Michael's Indian School, 52
 Santee Sioux: 28, 43; Normal School, 50, 52
 school boards, 118, 127, 129
 schools: subjects taught, 13-14, 17-18, 28-29, 35, 65, 67; parochial, 55
 Schurz, Carl, 45, 48, 50
 Self-determination, 4, 125
 Sells, Indian Commissioner Cato, 81
 Senate, U.S., 26
 Sequoya, 2, 31, 33
 Sergeant, John, 16
 Serra, Father Junipero, 12
 Sherman Institute, 86, 89, 114
 Sioux: language, 58; Indians, 28, 42
 Six Nations, 22
 Snohomish language, 74
 socialism, 48
 Society in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel, 26
 Society of Friends (see Quakers)
 South Dakota, 91
Standing Bear v. Crook, 46, 62
 Standing Bear, Luther (Sioux): 134, 137; as teacher 50, 57-58; first student at Carlisle, 82
 students: mission school, 73-75; boarding school, 87-91; returned from boarding school, 96-99; number in Indian schools, 36-37, 86, 115, 138-140
 Sun Dance, 52
 Taylor, Nathaniel G., 38, 47
 teachers: number of, 59; in government board-ing schools, 91-96; in mission schools; 73-74; training of, 60
 teaching materials, 107; Navajo, 128, 130
 tests, 6-7
 textbooks, 82, 107, 120; with no Indians, 119-120; Navajo, 113
 Tibbles, Thomas Henry, 61-62
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 25
 Trade and Intercourse Act, 26
 Trail of Tears, 33
 Treaty, with Delaware tribe, 25; with Kaskaskias, 26; of Fort Laramie, 39; of New Echota, 30, 32; with Navajos, 39; with Oneida, Tuscarrora and Stockbridge tribes, 25-26
 Tulalip Reservation, 73
 U.S. Civil Rights Com., 124
 Ute language, 136
 Vanishing Americans, 42
 Virginia, Colony of, 13
 vocational education (see manual training)
 Wampanoag tribe, 15-16
 War Department, 36
 Warm Springs Reservation, 73
 Washington, Booker T., 71

- Washington, George, 24, 43
Wheelock, Eleazar, 16-18, 20-21
Wild West shows, 81
William and Mary, College of,
21
Worcester v. Georgia, 32
Worcester, Samuel, 33
World War II, 110; effect on
Indian schools, 109
Wowaus, 15

A History of Indian Education recounts the efforts by missionaries and the United States Government to "civilize" Native Americans and describes how they either resisted or cooperated with these efforts. The book covers the period from 1492 to 1989. A unique feature of *A History of Indian Education* is the inclusion of numerous accounts of Indian school experiences by teachers and students.

The authors, Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, teach Native American Studies courses at Eastern Montana College.